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## THE VALUE AND LIMITATIONS OF EUGENICS.

SOCIAL life consists in the interaction of human beings, and social evolution—whether progressive or the reverse—in the consequent formation and modification of what, for lack of a better single word, we may call the social tradition. Social improvement therefore is not the same as racial improvement. It is quite conceivable that with no change in the average level of racial capacity, the cumulative efforts of generations to better their life might produce a very great change in the social structure, and in point of fact it appears to be mainly by such a process of the summation of effort that the actual achievements of mankind have been effected. But at this point the biological critic may very fairly break in with a criticism. "Granted," he may say, "all that you urge on behalf of the social tradition. It still remains the incontestable truth that society is composed of individuals whose qualities determine the nature of their interactions. No doubt these qualities are very complex. Man is a being of mixed disposition. There is a mingling of gold and brass in every soul, and circumstances may decide which is to show on the surface. We grant then that there are wide limits of variation within which, without modification of the racial type, society may advance or retrograde. None the less we come back to the qualities of individuals as the ultimate determinants. Their average merit must affect the standard of social action. Conceive the racial level—by which we mean the average level of hereditary endowment—raised, and to that extent you facilitate social progress. Conceive it lowered, and to that extent you arrest progress and favour deterioration." The contention thus modestly put cannot

be denied. The very efforts that men make to improve their individual condition and the social order are themselves of course the outcome of their qualities; and if these qualities take shape and find expression in the medium of the social tradition, it is equally true that they form the ultimate reserve of energy underlying the social changes by which that tradition is maintained, improved, or destroyed. "Very well then," the Eugenist proceeds, "it is admitted that the quality of the stock is of high importance. It is admitted also that natural selection is no longer capable of performing its function in weeding out inferior stocks. It is admitted that we cannot revert to the use of natural selection without destroying the characteristic work of civilization. We cannot undo the structure of mutual aid and mutual forbearance which civilized progress has painfully built up. What we can do is to substitute for natural a rational selection. We may discourage and even prevent the perpetuation of inferior stocks, and for this purpose a rational conception of fitness and a knowledge of the laws of heredity is all that we require. All that has been urged above against the conception of the struggle for existence may be true. It holds true none the less that selection is necessary to racial progress and to the avoidance of racial deterioration, and even if the social reformer could ignore the need of improvement in the race, he must take a very serious view of the possibilities involved in deterioration. He must look very carefully at the reforms which he is proposing, for fear any such vital injury to the life-blood of society should be entailed by them."

Without examining all the details of this argument, we may admit the main contention to be theoretically sound. The improvement of the stock by rational selection is in the abstract a clearly legitimate object. It involves no such contradiction with the inherent trend of progress as is contained in the principle of leaving society to the operation of the unchecked struggle for existence. The child once born has a claim upon society which can only be ignored at the cost of abandoning the basic principles of the humanized social order. But the claim to bring children into the world is quite another matter. It is no novel point of ethics to forbid parentage to a person of deeply vitiated stock, and Eugenists who draw a distinction between the right to live and the right to bring to life are within their rights. So far then we admit that the eugenic conclusion follows from its premises. But what are the premises? We are to assume, first, that we have a true conception of social worth, of the nature of human progress and of the qualities making for it. We are to assume, secondly,

that we have competent knowledge of the laws of inheritance whereby we can so play upon the race as to engender the qualities that we desire. This is, to succeed in eugenics we need a competent understanding both of the *eu* and of the *genics*. We must know what we want to breed for and how we propose to breed for it. Have we the clearness of conception as to the first point and the fulness of knowledge as to the second which are necessary to the useful development of eugenics?

As to the first question, the nature and criterion of social worth, I think we may trace two lines of thought among eugenic writers which it is highly important to distinguish. The more careful admit that for a thoroughgoing application of their principle we should need a well-grounded social philosophy. They admit that little is known as to the causation of many of the higher human qualities and fully grant that we should be very careful in, so as to say, passing sentence of execution on a stock which may after all contain serviceable elements mixed with its blemishes. But they say there are many qualities about which there can be no doubt. We do not want insanity; we do not want feeble-mindedness; we do not want alcoholism; we do not want syphilis; we do not want the stocks which are infected with such taint. We want to extinguish them as evil in themselves and as liable to infect sound stocks. We want to isolate those definitely infected much as we isolate an infectious disease. We want to prevent them from bringing into the world children in their own image. When the principle is admitted and the experiment has been made in these cases that are clear, it will be time enough to consider those that are more doubtful. We shall in the meantime have gained some knowledge of what can be done by these means and how it can be done with the least possible infliction of suffering.

On this side we see the eugenic case at its strongest. But even here we must put in one caveat. There may be blemishes which are very serious in themselves, but which nevertheless do not afford adequate grounds for pronouncing capital sentence upon a stock. As an illustration, I will take the case of tuberculosis. The heredity of this disease is still a matter of some question. For the sake of argument I will assume the diathesis to be hereditary. No one can deny that it is in that case a serious blemish. But before we proceed to pass sentence of exclusion from the rights of parenthood on any individual of tubercular stock, I think we should have very carefully to weigh two questions. The first is, what are the qualities of the individual? Liability to tubercular infection involves no mental or moral turpitude. It may coexist

with the highest qualities on this side. I am not aware that it even involves any other form of physical weakness, though some other forms of physical weakness may no doubt increase the liability to tubercular infection. Now, if we stamp out the tubercular tendency, what other qualities are we stamping out along with it? If an otherwise gifted stock has this blemish, will there be net loss or net gain in its disappearance? I do not think that this question can be answered offhand. But if our general view of progress is correct, society has on the whole gone forward by the development of those arts which assist in keeping alive many who without such aid would have perished; and considering the very wide prevalence which is now believed to obtain of some form or another of the tubercular condition, it may be doubted, whether if the tubercle had been left to do its work unchecked, there would have been any social progress at all. Secondly, it is well within the bounds of possibility that, by the development of scientific hygiene, instead of eliminating the tubercular stock we may succeed in eliminating the tubercle. In that case this particular tendency—unless provably correlated with some other form of irremediable weakness—will no longer rank as a defect. If in the meantime we had prohibited the marriage of members of such stocks, we should have lost all that they might have contributed to the population and its well-being for the sake of no permanent gain.

These two points may be stated generally. We must be certain that the stock which we seek to eliminate is so vicious that its removal is a net gain. We must be sure that the vice is irremovable and not dependent upon conditions which it is within our power to modify. This latter condition implies a certainty as to the operation of heredity, of which more will be said. But meanwhile, assuming those two conditions fulfilled, there is a case for forbidding parentage—always upon this further provision that in so doing we do not allow ourselves to be driven to methods which by violating the painfully acquired traditions of civilization will aid the ever present tendencies to re-barbarization. On these grounds the case of the feeble-minded becomes perhaps the strongest for the application of eugenic methods. We have here a type which it is becoming possible to identify with fair precision. It is found in men and women who are not capable of independent existence, but who continually drift to the gaol or the workhouse, who are fertile, and whose condition is asserted to be hereditary in a marked degree. On grounds of humanity we have good reason to undertake the care of this class, and we have a right to



demand in return the separation of the sexes. We are dealing with people who are not capable of guiding their own lives and who should for their own sake be under tutelage, and we are entitled to impose our own conditions of this tutelage, having the general welfare of society in view. Lastly, there is no reason to think that this condition is an isolated and, as it were, accidental defect in a nature that is otherwise healthy and sound. The evidence, I understand, is rather that it is a form of general deterioration not correlated with any specially good qualities by way of compensation. Such a case is, I think, one of the strongest that Eugenists can press in the present state of our knowledge.

On such lines as these, physiological or medical lines as we may call them, eugenics may have a part to play in relation to the social problem. But meanwhile there is a second line of thought discernible among Eugenists and larger claims put forward bearing on political thought as a whole which must be very carefully scrutinized. By no means all eugenic writers are so careful in their application of the tests of unfitness as those to whom I have referred. To read a good deal of what is written on this subject one might suppose that the whole question is as simple as daylight. Often it would seem as if the actual position of classes in society was taken as a measure of their worth. Thus we hear a great deal of the relative sterility of the richer classes and the fertility of the poorer, as if this were in itself sufficient evidence of the multiplication of the unfit. Now, the actual forces which determine a man's position in modern society are, first, the inheritance of property and other social privileges, and secondly, his capacity for making and keeping money. The first of these, far from affording a test of personal merit, tends to mask the actual inequalities of endowment. One knows people of the essential pauper character in all classes. But whereas if they are born among the well-to-do they exist on means of their own or find relations on whom they succeed in fastening, among the poor they drift to the street corner, the casual ward, the workhouse, and the gaol. One would suppose it axiomatic that without perfect equality of opportunity actual position in the social scale would be no criterion of relative merit; and yet we find at least one able writer so enamoured of the qualities of the British upper and middle classes that he manages on eugenic grounds to find reasons for the maintenance of class distinctions. But further, given a genuine freedom of competition and full equality of opportunity, the qualities which bring men to the top are not necessarily social qualities. Some qualities by which men get on are good, some

indifferent, and some bad. Which of these will predominate depends on the character of the social organization. The financial abilities which bring men to the top to-day may come to be regarded by our descendants much as we regard the qualities of a robber baron who prospered under mediæval conditions. Upon the whole it is probable that the harder and more self-regarding qualities still play a larger part than the gentler and more social in determining success, and we are not surprised when we find writers of the type to which I refer telling us plainly that self-reliance and endurance are the qualities which they wish to breed. Now, self-reliance and endurance are very good qualities, and we must not depreciate them, but a view of human nature which centres on these to the omission of the other side of character is a view which has got out of focus. The possibility of such a view indicates the absolute necessity of a social philosophy as a basis of eugenics the moment that eugenic considerations are used to determine the main lines of social reform.

In fact, when they begin to criticize social reform, some Eugenists of the class to which I am referring, political Eugenists as we may call them, come perilously near to the old arguments from the theory of natural selection. They make reservations, it is true, which must stand to their credit. They admit that the social conscience is an indispensable factor in progress, and that what has been done in the way of ameliorative legislation cannot be undone. But, they argue, as long as natural selection reigned the standard of the stock was kept up. The weakling was eliminated; the strong survived. Now natural selection is superseded. The weakling is preserved. He is allowed to breed. Relatively he is more fertile than the fit. The birth-rate diminishes most among the higher ranks of society. More and more the nation of the future will be recruited from the unfit stocks. Meanwhile the burden of maintaining the unfit falls in the shape of poor rates and state taxes on the shoulders of their betters, who are thus positively handicapped in the struggle and disinclined to rear families. All social legislation is directed to the improvement of the environment, but the improvement of the environment has no effect on the stock. It may in some degree—Professor Pearson's school argues that it is in a very slight degree—improve the qualities of the individual, but the qualities so acquired will not be handed on. Unless we so alter our institutions as to encourage the propagation of the fit and discourage the unfit, our race is doomed.

(1) If these jeremiads were well founded, we should expect to

see the signs of deterioration already manifest. After all, the suspension of natural selection is no new phenomenon. It has, as we have shown, been in progress ever since civilization began and even before civilization began. True, with the decline of the infantile death-rate it has been carried much farther, but this is only the continuance of a very old progress, and that this process can ever go so far as entirely to eliminate natural selection is unlikely. Variations which are sufficiently extreme are likely always to carry early death or infertility as their effect. In our own times what proof is there of actual deterioration? As it happens a committee was instituted in England to investigate this question some six years ago. There was at that time a widespread uneasiness arising from the increasing number of recruits who were rejected on medical grounds. Physical deterioration was the thing most feared, and it was reasonable to suppose that under modern considerations it would be on this side if anywhere that deterioration would be apparent. The committee was not biased in favour of any optimistic view, and all available evidence in favour of deterioration came before them. The result was that while they found that there was no sufficient material as at present available to warrant any definite conclusions on the question of the physique of the people by comparison with data obtained in past times, yet "the impressions gathered from the great majority of the witnesses examined do not support the belief that there is any general progressive physical deterioration." Familiar social statistics support the negative view. The heavy decline of the death-rate during the last forty years is undoubtedly due to improved sanitary and social conditions, but it also indicates an improvement of general health, and if there were any strong tendency to the deterioration of the stock at work, we should expect it to appear as at least a counterpoise. The decline of pauperism from about 50 per thousand of the population in 1850 to 21 per thousand in the present year is also due to general social progress; but it has gone on long enough to be seriously counteracted by the growth of a class of hereditary paupers, supposing that such a class were in fact increasing. Of the diminution of crime in proportion to the population—which, notwithstanding a recent rise, marks the period as a whole—the same may be said. Lastly, the rise in real wages, which is slow but general in England and is spread over a century, tells the same tale. Wages have risen owing to a variety of social efforts, but the higher wage could hardly in the competition of the world's market be earned by a continuously deteriorating population of workers. The only

unfavourable comparison of any weight that can be instituted with the past is in the matter of insanity, and here the interpretation of the figures is subject to serious doubt. There is, says the committee, in the report which I have quoted, no doubt as to the great increase of insane persons under treatment, but the question is, first, how far these figures indicate true increase of insanity, and secondly, if this is true, as to the causes of the increase. On the first point they rely chiefly on the evidence of Dr. Wigglesworth, who, they say, admitted that the statistical information was incomplete, and that the conclusions to be drawn from it varied according as it was read and looked at, but on the whole, though he would like to express himself with reserve, was inclined to think that the incidence was increasing. You see how cautiously the opinion as to the last fact is expressed. When we come to the interpretation, we find Dr. Wigglesworth equally cautious as to the argument that the increase of lunacy can be taken as evidence of physical deterioration. So far as England is concerned it appears to be connected with density of population, and therefore, if it is real, to be rather an effect of the worst side of the social environment—the crush and the strain of industrial life—than of deterioration of stock.\* Upon the whole we are justified in the conclusion that whatever the future has in store the process of deterioration has not begun.

(2) In the absence of inductive evidence of race deterioration, we may usefully go on to inquire whether there is any reason in the nature of the case why the suspension of natural selection within the limits up to which such suspension is possible should lower the racial standard. To many biologists the question refutes itself. The race is for ever varying, but its variations for the worse are nipped in the bud. Once allow them to grow and they must infect the sounder stocks. At a minimum they must lower the racial average, and this process of deterioration will go on indefinitely. It is by means of the selection of small variations for the better that the racial standard is improved and that new varieties and new species are formed. Similarly, by the indefinitely continued propagation of variations for the worse, the whole standard of a race will be lowered. This large way of looking at the facts, however, implies a biological theory which is by no means universally accepted. How far a race is actually capable of being modified by the accumulation of small variations has

\* There is in fact more evidence of the increase of lunacy in Ireland, which has for historical reasons failed in large measure to share in such social progress as the larger island has achieved.

become in recent years a matter of acute controversy, and it seems to be the better opinion that a distinction must be drawn between the less important variations known as fluctuations and the more deep-seated changes to which the name of mutations has been given. It is probable that in the case of smaller fluctuations there is a constant tendency to return to the mean or standard of the race, and if we can imagine a race wholly immune from natural selection and not striking out any new line by a definite mutation, the mean standard of the racial type would be roughly maintained for an indefinite period. But be that as it may, we have to point out once more that the view taken of the effect of natural selection is one-sided, for once again it is assumed that it is only the unfit who are eliminated. Now if once for all we get rid of the phrase "selection of the fit" and substitute for it "elimination of the unsuccessful," which is what is really meant, we shall see the facts in a different light. In a race subject to a severe struggle for existence, the types which are unsuccessful under the prevailing conditions will constantly be eliminated; but it is possible and more than possible that these types should include among them the most valuable stocks for the purposes of society. Where the conditions of life are hard, where there is little regard for justice and mercy, and in a word for all the higher ethical qualities, those who possess these qualities have less chance of prospering and leaving descendants behind them. In point of fact in earlier forms of human society there is good reason to think that social progress was seriously interfered with by the actual elimination of the best types. From this point of view political and civil liberty, social and economic justice, are the most eugenic of agencies. Much is said by the Eugenists of the decay of nations in the past by the failure of the best types to perpetuate themselves. I know of no case, not even that of the Roman Empire, in which this suggestion is susceptible of any clear historical proof, for the lamentations over the decay of the Roman population date from the first century before Christ, a period which history has shown to have been, not one of retrogression, but of progress,—a progress which was well maintained for two centuries after the time when these jeremiads had become familiar. It is also forgotten by those who make use of the half-told tale of Roman decadence that, as the Roman Empire consolidated itself, it drew for its support, not on the old aristocracy of Rome, but on the newer population of the Mediterranean basin, and that this population was decadent or was seriously affected by the relatively fast multiplication of inferior stocks is a suggestion for which I have never seen any



evidence. On the other hand, if we look at the artificial elimination of the best stocks by political and religious despotism, we get much more definite evidence of national deterioration. Take, for example, the case of Spain in the sixteenth century. We need not assume that the Protestant reformers were man for man better than the old believers; but we may fairly suppose that a large proportion of the more independent minds and more active thinkers would be attracted by the new creed, and when we find that these were eliminated by the process of *auto da fé* to the number of tens of thousands, we can well understand that in Spain the selection effected by political circumstances may have been such as to denude the country of an undue proportion of its most vigorous stocks. Speaking broadly, if the more social qualities are to have their chance, it is on political and social institutions that that chance must depend. Freedom of thought and action, freedom of choice by women, the repression of violence and fraud, these are all eugenic agencies which tend to diminish the contrast between the successful and the fit. So regarded, the improvement of social conditions is seen to tell both ways in its effect on the stock. If it admits of variations for the bad, it also allows for variations for the good. So far the two tendencies cancel one another. But we may go a step farther. The actual progress of humanity depends far more on the survival of the best than on the elimination of the worst; provided that the highest types can always have breathing space, we may be assured that social, as distinct from racial, progress will continue. Eugenically considered then, the broad duty of society is so to arrange its institutions that success is to the socially fit, and this is only possible in proportion as the social order is based on principles of a just and equitable organization.

(3) In this account of the matter I have assumed, in accordance with the preponderance of biological opinion, that environment as such has no direct effect upon the development of the stock. This is a point on which some schools of biologists speak with an assurance which almost amounts to dogmatism, and they employ this principle as an argument to prove the futility of contemporary efforts at social improvement. In so doing it may be remarked in passing that very frequently they fail to draw the necessary distinction between racial and social progress. Thus in one of the Eugenics Laboratory Lectures\* we read:—

“Practically all social legislation has been based on the assumption that better environment meant race progress.”

\* “The Relative Strength of Nurture and Nature,” by Ethel M. Elderton.

I beg leave to doubt whether for the most part persons interested in social legislation have given any profound consideration to the question of race progress. What they have been concerned with is social progress, that is to say, they have aimed at improving the actual life of the people and the building up of a better social structure, and I may add that the biological terms of race and environment, nature and nurture, are not categories to satisfy sociologists. They do not exhaust the field. From one point of view, no doubt, social institutions may be regarded as an environment within which the individual is formed and to which he has to accommodate himself. But the actual effect of social institutions upon life is not to be understood in biological terms. The relation, as Professor Henry Jones has well pointed out, between the individual and society is far more intimate. It is much more like an organic union. One and the same set of qualities will take a totally different expression according as the social environment differs. The very same motives, the same original characteristics, which will in the one set of circumstances lead a man to unsocial practices, will, if suitably directed, render him an efficient and useful citizen. The same motives of pride and self-assertion which in a land where the blood feud reigns would lead a man to decorate his home with the skulls of his enemies and their wives and children, will in a civilized society urge him on to commercial or professional success, and will compel him to serve society for the gratification of his own ambition. The necessity of earning a living will impel a man to robbery and fraud or to honest and useful labour in accordance with the opportunities which the social system holds out to him. The driving power which under unrestrained competition will make a man a hard master may under suitable social control be directed to the equally efficient and humane conduct of business. It is not human quality, whether original or acquired that differs profoundly from period to period. It is the turn given to human quality by the social structure. As with the self-regarding so with the more generous impulses. The unreasoned philanthropy of an earlier time might do harm by indiscriminate giving; when it finds rational channels for its activity it will prompt a man to throw in his weight with the best civic movements of the day. Nor, again, is the effect of social institutions to be measured by modifications in the qualities of individuals as that expression would be generally understood. Take, for example, the effect of education. It is certainly desirable that education should develop the intelligence, but how much net addition is made to intellectual capacity by

educational processes is exceedingly difficult to measure. Acquired knowledge or skill, on the other hand, are tangible achievements in which the response of the individual on the one side and the teaching provided on the other are two inseparable conditions. It is acquirement or achievement, *e.g.*, knowledge, skill, discipline, that training confers, and the modifications thus effected in a man's life and his functions as a member of society are so great as to amount in many cases to a change of kind rather than of degree. The distinction is ignored by certain writers of the eugenic school, who seek to deprecate the effect of nurture as compared with nature, even in its bearing on the individual. But apart from this some of the methods used to measure the effect of the environment are of very doubtful value. Thus, in the lecture already quoted, Miss Elderton seeks to measure the effect of the environment by utilizing the Report of the Charity Organization Society on certain school children in Edinburgh. The home environment of the children is considered under the following heads:—

- The number of people per room;
- Good economic conditions;
- Good physical condition of parents;
- Good moral condition of parents.

With regard to the last point, Miss Elderton admits there is room for variation of judgment, and one would say that even the three former would require very close investigation in order to form an accurate classification. However, having made this classification, Miss Elderton proceeds to take the reports on certain qualities of the children, on their vision, hearing, glandular condition, and intelligence; on some of these points I confess I should not expect the environment to produce any very marked effect, but the question of intelligence is interesting from our point of view, and here Miss Elderton is able to produce results indicating in her opinion a very small, if not a negligible, effect. Good economic conditions alone show a small influence upon the intelligence alike of boys and girls.\* On these figures it must be remarked that they

\*The actual correlations are as follows:—

	Boys	Girls
Number of people per room (intelligence) . . . .	.02	.04
Good economic conditions (intelligence) . . . .	.01	.16
Good physical condition of parents (intelligence) . . . .	-.04	.06
Good moral condition of parents (intelligence) . . . .	-.07	.03

The negative signs indicate that the better conditions are associated with lower intelligence. The insignificance of the figures is to be measured by the fact that the general figure of correlation for heredity is taken by the writer to be about .49 in the case of intelligence.

include several doubtful and even unknown quantities. How is the intelligence of boys and girls measured? On this vital point we have no information. At best it represents some impression of somebody, presumably of teachers, and what sort of standard is applied by which the fractions are determined we are not told. But if we take the figures at their face value, we find an exceedingly paradoxical result. It is constantly assumed that better economic and social conditions are generally indicative of superiority of stock. In that case the parents conforming to the better conditions are, it is to be inferred, men and women of better stock; and according to this, apart altogether from environmental influences, we should expect their children to show better results. We should expect the full correlation worked out for us in other cases of heredity. How is it that this fails when the present test is applied? We seem driven to the conclusion either that this particular method of calculation is misleading or that the general assumption upon which many of the sociological arguments of Eugenists are based, that the socially more fortunate classes are of the best hereditary strain, is unfounded. It must be added that when the home conditions are used as a test of the general effect of the environment, some very serious omissions are made. It appears to be forgotten that in a great measure the environment of all the children attending the same school, or even schools of the same class in a single town, is identical, particularly as regards the effect on intelligence. The school teaching is identical for all, and beyond that, all the children are born in the same area, in the same town, under the same law, and have to conform to the same standard of civilization; they learn the same things and are accessible to the same ideas. We get nothing but a fractional measure of the environment when we merely differentiate home surroundings.

Lastly, it will be seen that the writer does not even take in home surroundings as a whole. She divides them into heads and under each head finds a correlation which is very small compared with that of physical heredity. Now, if the comparison were to denote anything at all, it must begin by attempting to set the whole of the environmental conditions on the one side against the whole of hereditary conditions on the other. To take one environmental condition among many and to compare its effect with the total effect of physical heredity is a method of argument which can throw no light on the question at issue, and to take several environmental conditions in series without attempting to sum their effect is to produce an illusion of proof without reality.

An illustration equally remarkable in its own way of the mental

processes by which some eugenic writers arrive at conclusions which go out to the public as the ordinances of the scientific world may be found in another publication of the same laboratory on "The Inheritance of Vision." The writers, Miss Amy Barrington and Professor Pearson, in summarizing their conclusion begin by remarking that it is "admittedly only a first study." "No one can recognize its defects more fully than the authors themselves do." With this becoming modesty they go on to speak of the difficulties of obtaining evidence and then remark that as far as "the admittedly slender data of this first study" allow certain specific conclusions may be formulated which they then state in a manner to which no objection can be taken. Having stated them, they proceed to speak in more general terms.

"As far as the material developed in this memoir goes, it points, if not overwhelmingly, at least strongly, to the moral: Pay attention to breeding, and the environmental element will not affect your projects. Improve to the utmost your environment, breeding will lay low your schemes.

"The first thing is good stock, and the second thing is good stock, and the third thing is good stock, and when you have paid attention to these three things, fit environment will keep your material in good condition. No environmental or educational grindstone is of service, unless the tool to be ground is of genuine steel—of tough race and tempered stock.

"To bring home this fact in each department of human physique and mentality seems to be the urgent social problem of to-day."

This is a somewhat rapid transition from the cautious and scientific to the dogmatizing mood. The conclusions from "admittedly slender data" are first made to suggest a general conclusion which goes far beyond the particular case investigated. In the next paragraph the conclusion is dogmatically asserted without the least reference to the slenderness of the evidence, and in the third it has become the basis of practical statesmanship and to drive it home the most urgent social problem of the day. And this goes forth to the world as the decisive word of true science with its caution, its detachment, its objectivity, its reasonableness.

We may lay down with some confidence, first, that, as to the relative effect of nature and nurture upon the individual, no adequate means of measurement have yet been suggested; and secondly, that it is not the modification of the inherent qualities of



the individual that is alone to be regarded, but the actual life to be lived by the individual in society, and that means, when all individuals are considered, the total character of the social fabric. Lastly, we must ask whether, in a sober review of our biological knowledge, the effect of the environment can be so completely dismissed as some biologists suppose. The more cautious adherents of the school of Weismann are careful to distinguish two separate questions. The first is whether any distinct quality impressed upon the individual is likely to be perpetuated in the stock. This they answer with a negative, not strictly upon the ground that such perpetuation has in all cases been actually disproved, but rather because no positive evidence is forthcoming of any such effect, nor has any method been shown by which it could be brought about; but they point out that this is not to settle the further question whether the environment may so influence the organism as a whole as to produce some effect upon the germ. Thus Professor Thomson writes\* of the possibility that the germ-plasm should be "affected along with the body by a deeply saturating influence, which nobody has ever denied. The influence of toxins, for example, on the germ-plasm is in certain cases definitely admitted." Again † "it is generally admitted that when parents have healthy occupations their offspring are likely to be more vigorous. The matter is complicated by the difficulty of estimating how much is due to good nurture before and after birth. It is not unlikely, too, that some profound parental modifications may influence the general constitution, may even affect the germ-cells and may thus have results in the offspring, but unless the offspring show peculiarities in the same direction as the original modifications, we have no data bearing precisely on the question at issue." The question at issue is how the rise of specific qualities in the individual corresponds to impressed qualities in the parents. The passage indicates that there may be a broad and general effect where there is no specific effect.

Now when we are considering the purely biological problem of the way in which new species are formed, the question whether specific acquired characteristics are hereditary is of the first importance. But when, as sociologists, we are considering whether on the whole a healthy environment is likely to affect the germ-plasm favourably and an unhealthy environment unfavourably, we are dealing with a matter of equal practical importance,

\* p. 187.

† *Ibid.*, p. 190.

which is not to be determined by a negative answer to the previous question. We should certainly be risking a good deal if, in the present stage of our biological knowledge, we were to proceed on the assumption that no degree of unhealthiness in the conditions of life would have any permanent tendency to deterioration, and here, from the sociological point of view, the effect upon the mother would be just as important as the effect upon the germ-plasm. The biologist tends to rule out this consideration because from the moment the embryo is formed the effect upon the germ-plasm is no longer in question, but on the practical side the indirect influences upon the unborn child are just as important as the influences on the germinal cells which go to constitute the child. It must be added that all careful students of heredity admit the plenitude of our ignorance as to variation and that there are not wanting indications that the environment has indirect and subtle effects which have yet to be measured. We shall have to know more of the response of racial types to new surroundings and of the mechanism by which this response is effected before we can be sure that, not indeed by the direct transmission of acquired characters, but by some far more subtle series of spontaneous responses to new stimuli, the race does not adapt itself, as a race, to changed conditions, whether for good or ill.

(4) Nevertheless, we are told that the multiplication of inferior stocks and the relative infertility of the best is a serious feature of the social life of our day. What are the facts upon which this warning is based? In Professor Pearson's lecture on "The Problem of Practical Eugenics" we find a table comparing the fertility in pathological and in normal stocks. The pathological stock consists of deaf-mutes, English and American, tuberculous, albinotic, insane stocks, Edinburgh degenerates, London and Manchester mentally defective, and criminals. The mean size of the family for all these stocks is 6.2. With these are compared a series composed as follows: the English middle class; family records (presumably English); English intellectual class; working class, New South Wales; Danish professional class; Danish working class; Edinburgh normal artisan, and London normal artisan; and the mean of these is 5.5. The difference as it stands is not so very alarming. We have to remark that the working classes of New South Wales and the professional and working classes of Denmark are not properly to be compared with classes of the British population, and that these tend to pull down the

average. More serious, perhaps, are the figures which indicate a very low fertility in the two classes which Professor Pearson adds of English intellectuals, for which the normal size of the family, as given by Mr. Sidney Webb's results, is stated to be only 1'5, and of Harvard graduates, for which the corresponding figure is 2'0. Putting aside altogether the question of the test of fitness and assuming that, for the sake of argument, we have here some proof that the class that we should wish to see multiplied is relatively infertile, we must ask how far this result is due to social causes, and to what sort of social causes it is to be attributed. Biologists are familiar with the general law, first formulated by Herbert Spencer, that individual development and fertility vary inversely; right through the scale of creation the higher type reproduces itself in smaller numbers, and it seems to remain true among human beings that the race is upon the whole recruited in larger numbers from the normal and perhaps even from the lower types than from the higher. Is there any reason to think that this is a new phenomenon in the history of human development? If not, we can say that, though it is a regrettable fact, humanity has progressed in spite of it and that this would be only one sign among others of the general truth of the view that human progress is social and not racial. But are there not new facts to be taken into account? One there certainly is. It is the new opportunities opened by modern society to women for other careers than that of the wife and mother. There is the increased consideration of the more thoughtful men for the health of their wives and of the more thoughtful men and women for the upbringing of their children. These considerations rather than the selfishness to which it is commonly imputed are the principal causes of the limitation of the family among more civilized peoples. It is reasonable that these considerations just as they are in themselves should be balanced by a longer and larger view of the necessities of the race and it is probable that, so far as the restrictive tendency has gone beyond what is actually necessary for healthy conditions, the general recognition of this fact would tend to correct it. Just as the Malthusian teaching had tended to lower the general rate of reproduction, so in response to a widely diffused belief that the quality of the race might be injuriously affected by the refusal of the best individuals to contribute to it, what is excessive in the tendency would correct itself. So far the Eugenist is within his rights in calling attention to the dwindling of the family among the more

educated classes. He is wrong only if he insists on quantitative reproduction at the expense of qualitative life, if he returns to the conception of woman as limited in her function to the bearing and rearing of children, and omits from consideration the fact that the production of a capable stock at the expense of the permanent sacrifice of all that is most desirable in the life of one half of it, is not an intelligible or self-consistent ideal. He is wrong again when he overlooks the increased sense of parental responsibility which, gradually spreading through all classes of the population expresses itself in the view that it is wrong to bring children into the world for whom no adequate provision can be made. He is wrong, in short, if he does not seek to bring his biological requirement into conformity with sociological conditions. It must be added that, so far as economic conditions affect the birth-rate in different classes, a very careful analysis is necessary to determine what precisely these economic conditions are. The limitation of the family among the more educated classes has no connection with the social legislation designed to ameliorate the social conditions of the poor. On this point those who have made no first-hand study of economics are apt too readily to take up the cry of the burden of the rates, and to accept the view that the middle classes are staggering under the load imposed on them by provision for the poor. This view of the incidence of taxation will not bear criticism. I must not here attempt a detailed investigation, but it may be shown in the first place that the total provision for the poorer classes in my own country in the matter of education, poor rate, old age pensions, and all the rest combined is but a fraction of the total national expenditure, and bears a quite insignificant relation to the actual income of the middle and upper classes. It may be shown, moreover, that of the burden of the rates a great part, even under our present system, falls not upon the occupier, who makes the direct payment, but upon owners who in the main are much too wealthy to be affected in their capacity of fathers of families thereby. And it may be shown, lastly, that by revised forms of rating and taxation no burden need be thrown upon any producer, nor need any single human being be discouraged thereby from bringing children into the world or hindered in rearing them. As an argument against the ameliorative legislation the diminished fertility of the better stocks is an entire *ignoratio elenchi*.

But even if the inferior stocks are breeding more rapidly than the better ones, we have still to ask whether the effect on the race

is as serious as it seems. Observe I speak here of the race. I am not thinking of the social structure, but of the average of congenital endowment in the race, and I am asking how far this will be affected by the greater fertility of inferior stocks. To the older biological theory the question answered itself. The race progressed by the constant cutting off of the tail, and the consequent shifting forward of the mean point of capacity. The newer discoveries of Bateson and De Vries have shown that the problem is not so simple. It becomes more and more probable that racial progress depends not on the summation of small fluctuations that are constantly arising and dying away again, but on more definite mutations which, once arising, give birth to a new stock with a new mean point of its own. The individual descendants of the new stock will exhibit qualities which fluctuate about the new mean, but which tend always to return to it. The fluctuations, even if they persist for a generation or two, are not permanently transmitted. They arise and die away again. The mutations, on the other hand, are of permanent significance. Now any large fluctuation may have the same outward appearance as a true mutation, but its effect as seen in subsequent generations will be quite different. There is in considerations of heredity no adequate ground for eliminating the one, and every ground for eliminating the other; and to apply biological conceptions scientifically in practice we ought to be able to make sure to which class any particular stock evincing some bad quality is to be referred. Now it is not probable that a large population like that of a modern nation is all of one fundamental type, and that all the individual differences are mere fluctuations. But it is probable that the many fundamental strains that constitute it are intricately blended, and that the variations of individuals arise partly from the conditions of breeding and partly from fluctuations of germinal quality. If this is so, it may well be that the same fundamental strains are permeating the whole of society and are perpetuated without alteration, although one part of society may be more fertile than another. Furthermore, many peculiarities of quality are traceable to laws of blending. A black and a splashed-white Andalusian fowl when mated give rise to a blue, but the black and white germinal elements are permanent, and reappear in known proportions in subsequent generations. Now there is much in what we know of psychological conditions to suggest that the laws of blending may



be of even greater importance in psychological than in physical genetics. For we rarely find that individuals differ by the distinct presence or absence of some specific quality. On analysis mental or moral differences are apt to resolve themselves into differences in proportion and in the combination of elements. It is quite possible then that two strains, each sound in itself, should when united produce a bad result, and it may turn out that the true problem of eugenics is not one of selective breeding but of selective mating. Stocks *a* and *b* which when mated give rise to idiots or deaf-mutes, may quite conceivably mate with stocks *c* and *d* to engender normal children. I do not say that this is so. I suggest only that it is one of the possibilities to be taken into account. And there is a further point. It may be that some stocks undesirable in themselves contain strains that suitably blended with others are of value to the rational character as a whole. It may be that a roving and undisciplined disposition, which so often makes a vagrant, sometimes carries the strain from which originality and even genius arise. It may be that some of the milder and gentler strains give rise to weaklings, but yet are necessary in the general constitution of the stock to temper the harder material. We might easily disturb the balance of the stock on a whole by practising unwarily upon some of its component parts. At least such possibilities indicate the mass of work that has to be done in the field of heredity before we can safely apply its conceptions to the practical work of advancing social progress.

But, however this may be, I would emphasize this distinction in the biological outlook. The older Galtonian view working with small variations leads to the suggestion that natural selection is a permanent necessity of racial progress; it desires to subordinate the social structure in general to that end, and would, if consistently pushed through, lead to the permanent suppression, generation after generation, of the weaker stocks. The newer view points in quite another direction. It finds the basis of racial progress in definite mutations, which, if not destroyed by an unfavourable environment, establish themselves, and are not impaired by the preservation of individual descendants which manifest the new quality less perfectly than others. On this view it may be said that the most fundamental necessity from the point of view of racial progress is to maintain an environment in which any new mutations of promise socially considered may thrive and

grow, and by this line of argument we arrive once more at the conclusion that liberty, equality of opportunity, and the social atmosphere of justice and considerateness are the most eugenic of agencies. On the other hand, there may in this view exist not only bad fluctuations, but some bad strains, and if these can be isolated out and definitely ascertained, to eliminate them would be work that, if it is to be done at all, would have to be done once and would not need to be done again. The general problem of eugenics, then, would be to produce an environment of welcome to socially useful mutations; its specific task to determine whether certain strains of bad tendency could be isolated out, and, if so, to consider whether their perpetuation could be arrested by means compatible with civilized ethics. On these lines eugenic ideas will, I can quite believe, be found to have a function in the work of social regeneration, though their application must for the most part await the progress of biological knowledge. On the other hand, there is no shadow of justification for the wild words in which eugenic writers frequently condemn the whole trend of what they call social legislation.

The whole of the argument admits of being summed up in a few sentences. So far as the eugenic principle advocates the substitution of rational for natural selection, it is, in the abstract, upon firm ground. Where it can be clearly established that a stock is tainted with an hereditary blemish so great as to outweigh its merits, it is desirable that that stock should not be perpetuated. That is already recognized ethically as a duty and is acted on by many individuals, in cases where there is such a taint as that of insanity. There is every reason why our knowledge on these matters should be carried further and systematized, and it is possible that in certain cases it may be found desirable to crystallize ethical sentiment in positive law; for example, in the case of such a class as the feeble-minded, where permanent care is desirable for the benefit of the individual, it may be right that, as a condition of such care, restriction from marriage should be insisted on by society in the future interest of the race. On the other hand, the use of eugenic arguments against legislation designed to replace the struggle for existence by ordered social co-operation is at bottom a misapplication of the principle. It rests on the survival of the older ideas of natural selection under a new form, in new terminology. The method of social legislation should not be to

accommodate institutions to the survival of the stronger; it should be to bring the social structure into accordance with sound principles of social co-operation. In such a system those who are fit in the true sense of the term, those, that is to say, who are capable of becoming useful members of the social organization, can find their place; and it is only when all such persons are endowed with full opportunities to adapt themselves to social requirements that the failures of society can be legitimately regarded as the unfit. Those who so prove their unfitness are then legitimate objects for institutional tutelage, and it will then for the first time become possible to enter into the question of their right to propagate their like. That question would then be determined by the light that our knowledge of heredity could throw upon the future of their descendants. These views do not appear to me to be out of accord with the sounder teaching of the more cautious biologists. They conflict only with those enthusiasts who make rash applications based on confusion of the new teaching with the old.

L. T. HOBHOUSE.

## THE ECONOMICS OF NEGRO EMANCIPATION IN THE UNITED STATES.\*

FEW of us realise how much a visual image influences our thought even when we know the image to be fanciful or misleading. I take it that large numbers of people quite involuntarily visualize some sudden dramatic movement in the freeing of the American slave—the rattle of broken shackles, the trooping forth of myriads of singing men, and the like. There was, to be sure, something of the sudden and dramatic in the events of 1861-64, but they had little to do with the real movement. The real emancipation of the Negro slave was a slow, sombre course of events, beginning before the war and not yet ended, and its main points it is my task briefly to recapitulate here.

The main question of emancipation is, of course, not legal but economic; not the question as to when by enactment a certain organisation of human labour became illegal, but the deeper question as to the slow development of that organisation of labour from a primitive to a more advanced form. To follow this development we must first find a convenient starting point. This calls for a word as to what American slavery was, despite the triteness of the subject.

Foreigners, and even Americans themselves, are puzzled at the apparent contradictions of Southern slavery. We hear on the one hand of the staid and gentle patriarchy and the wide and sleepy plantations with lord and retainers, ease and happiness; we hear on the other hand of barbarous cruelty and unbridled power and wide oppression of men. Which is the true picture? The answer is simple: both are true. They are not opposite sides of the same shield; they are different shields. They are pictures on the one hand of house service in the great country-seats and in the towns, and on the other hand of the field labourers who raised the great tobacco, rice, and cotton crops. We have thus not only carelessly mixed pictures of what were really different kinds of slavery, but of that which represented different degrees in the development of the economic system. House service was the older feudal idea of personal retainership developed in Virginia and Carolina in the 17th and 18th centuries. It had all the advantages and disadvantages of such systems—the advantage of the strong personal tie, the disadvantage of unyielding caste distinctions with the resultant immoralities. At its worst, however, it was a matter primarily of human relationships.

Out of this older type of slavery in the northern South, there

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developed in the 18th and 19th century in the southern South the type of slavery which corresponds to the modern factory system in its worst conceivable form. It represented production of a staple product on a larger and larger scale; between the owner and labourer were interposed the overseer and the drivers. The slaves were whipped and driven to a mechanical task system. Greater and greater distance separated the master's home and the work fields, until at last absentee landlordship was common. It was this latter type of slavery that marked the cotton kingdom, and the extension of the area of the system South and West marked the aggressive world-conquering visions of the Slave Barons. On the other hand, it was the milder and far different Virginia house service and the personal retainership of the town life, in which most white children grew up; it was this that impressed their imaginations and which they have so vividly portrayed. The Negroes, however, knew the other side, for it was under the harsher heartless driving of the fields that fully nine-tenths of them lived.

When the legal edict of emancipation fell suddenly on these two different forms of slavery it found two tendencies. The house servant had been pushing steadily upward. He was often a blood relative of the master; he had in some cases learned to read and write despite the law; he managed to get hold of a little money as peculium, and he pursued such of the skilled trades as a simple agriculture and the rarer town life required. This class of men were a selected class and tended to gain their ends through the subtle cajolery of their masters, while the surplus children and those who revolted against slavery were sent to join the field hands in the lower South, to be beaten into submission and brutalised for the sake of a larger cotton crop.

So far as the great mass of people in the United States were concerned, the war had begun with no thought of emancipation. It was the Negro himself who forced the issue in two ways. As black men had gained freedom before the war by running away to the North and Canada, now in larger and larger hordes they escaped to the nearer refuge of the invading armies. The armies did not know what to do with them. At first they sent them back, then they protected them. From this rose the second reason for emancipation, the use of the Negroes as soldiers. The northern free Negroes kept offering their services only to be told that this was a white man's war. But after about two years of this the white men were glad to accept 200,000 black bodies to stop bullets. After these two developments emancipation was only a matter of time and appropriate excuse.

The Edict of Emancipation in 1863 led to three lines of development which we may designate as (a) the political result of the war; (b) the economic status of the labourers; and (c) the action of the



landowner and capitalist. These lines of development were largely simultaneous in their action, but I am convinced that in the past much confusion has arisen by a failure to recognise clearly certain distinct lines of causation.

Much attention has in the past been given to the political results of the war. They were, of course, the more dramatic, and they caught particularly the world's attention because of the enfranchisement of the slaves. This phase of the economic situation need not hold us long, but it is necessary to seek to clear up certain persistent misapprehensions. Quite unexpectedly and without forethought the nation had emancipated four million slaves. Once the deed was done, the whole nation was glad, and recognised that this was after all the only result of a fearful four years' war which in any degree justified it. But how was the result to be secured for all time? There were three possibilities: (1) to declare the slave free and leave him at the mercy of his former masters; (2) to establish a careful government guardianship designed to guide the slave from legal to real economic freedom; (3) to give the Negro the political power to guard himself during this development.

We are apt to forget that the United States Government tried each one of these in succession, and were literally forced to adopt the third because the first had utterly failed and they thought the second too costly. To leave the Negroes helpless after a paper edict of emancipation was manifestly impossible. It meant that the war had been fought in vain. Yet under Lincoln's successor the experiment was tried, and the result was a code of laws in nearly every southern State which granted the Negro nominal freedom but made economic freedom impossible by hindering his access to the land, curtailing his right to change employers and to freedom of wage contract, and by establishing a distinct labouring caste with restricted rights and privileges of all sorts and no prospect of any political rights at any future time. Even a slave trade was not impossible under the guardianship and vagrancy laws. It needed but short experience of this so-called Reconstruction under Johnson to convince the nation that if the Negro was to have a chance to work out his freedom he must have protection. If the form of that protection had been worked out by Charles Sumner to-day instead of 50 years ago it would have been regarded as a proposal far less revolutionary than the state insurance of England and Europe. A half-century ago, however, and in a country which gave the *laissez-faire* economics their extremest trial, the Freedmen's Bureau struck the whole nation as unthinkable, save as a very temporary expedient and to relieve the more pointed forms of distress following war. Yet the proposals of the Bureau were both simple and sensible:—

1. To oversee the making and enforcement of wage contracts.
2. To appear in the courts as the freedmen's best friend.
3. To furnish the freedmen with a minimum of land and of capital.
4. To establish schools.
5. To furnish such institutions of relief as hospitals, outdoor relief stations, &c.

How a sensible people could expect really to conduct a slave into freedom with less than this it is hard to see. Even with such tutelage, extending over a period of two or three decades, the ultimate end had to be enfranchisement and political and social freedom for those freedmen who attained a certain set standard. Otherwise the whole training had neither object nor guarantee. Precisely on this account the former masters opposed the Freedmen's Bureau with all their influence. They did not want the Negro trained or really freed and they criticised mercilessly the many mistakes of the new bureau. The friends of the freedmen found themselves between the devil and the deep sea. Their own doctrinaire democracy disposed them to look with suspicion on so socialistic an experiment, and here they found uncomfortable allies in the white South. It soon began to occur to many that the preliminary guardianship and training of the slave need not be done at public expense, but could be done by the Negro himself and by his friends as private enterprise. Four considerations impelled to this course :—

- (a) The rapid advance of the house servant.
- (b) The growth of private schools.
- (c) The cost of the Freedmen's Bureau.
- (d) The difficulty of reconstructing the political South without friendly votes.

The house servant had started toward emancipation even before the war. He showed the possibilities of the mass of slaves so vividly that he was easily mistaken for the mass; leading on the one hand to expectations of rapid development much too sanguine for the mass of freedmen, and leading on the other hand in after years to quick and unjust condemnation for every failure. The North at first thought to pay for the main cost of the Freedmen's Bureau by confiscating the property of former slave owners; but finding this not in accordance with law they realised that they were embarking on an enterprise which bade fair to add many millions to the already staggering cost of the war. Meantime private philanthropy was pouring millions into the South and schools were starting everywhere. Finally, when they realised that the abolition of slavery could not be left to the white South and could not be done by the North without time and money, they determined to put the responsibility on the Negro himself.

It was without doubt a tremendous experiment but with all its manifest failure it succeeded to an astounding degree; it made the immediate re-establishment of the old slavery impossible, and it was probably the only quick method of doing this; it gave the freedmen's sons a chance to begin their education. It diverted the energy of the white South from economic development to the recovery of political power, and in this interval—small as it was—the Negro took his first steps toward economic freedom.

Much has been written which makes it appear that the enfranchised Negro threatened at first the whole fabric of civilisation. It was certainly no fault of his training that he did not, but as a matter of fact black legislators (to quote Judge Albion Tourgée, a white Northern man who worked with them) obeyed the Constitution of the United States:—

They instituted a public school system in a realm where public schools had been unknown. They opened the ballot box and jury box to thousands of white men who had been debarred from them by a lack of earthly possessions. They introduced home rule into the South. They abolished the whipping post, the branding iron, the stocks, and other barbarous forms of punishment which had up to that time prevailed. They reduced capital felonies from about twenty to two or three. In an age of extravagance they were extravagant in the sums appropriated for public works. In all of that time no man's rights of person were invaded under the forms of law. Every Democrat's life, home, fireside, and business were safe. No man obstructed any white man's way to the ballot box, interfered with his freedom of speech, or boycotted him on account of his political faith.

The greatest tribute to their work is the fact that the main fabric of their legislation is still on the statute books of the southern States to-day. Moreover, the outsider must ask if the objection to the Negro voter was in the main to his ignorance why is he being disfranchised to-day when that illiteracy has been reduced from over 90 per cent. to less than 40 per cent. and when he has accumulated large amounts of property? The answer to this paradox lies, I think, in the study of the two other lines of development I have mentioned—the change in the status of the black labourer and the question of land and capital.

In considering the status of the black freedmen there are two main considerations: the high price of cotton, and the fact that the slave was emancipated without being given a foot of land or a cent of capital. To be sure, a few received bounty money as soldiers in the war, and others as labourers in the camps. Then, too, the house servants and artisans in the town had some scanty accumulations and could sell their services for cash. But nine-tenths of the freedmen did not own the clothes on their backs and did not know where the next meal was coming from. Had the former master simply waited then he could easily have starved the

black man into slavery. But he himself was hard pushed; his wealth had been largely destroyed by war, and the high price of cotton offered a chance of relieving his fortunes if he acted quickly. Before the war the economic organisation had been as follows: the master owned the land, the labourer, and the tools. Once a week he furnished the labourer with food and at other intervals with clothes, medical attendance, etc. Under the new *régime* the master had still the land and the tools. He contracted with the labourer to furnish him with food and clothes as usual, and also a certain wage. But the food, etc., was to be "advanced" to the labourer and charged against him at a certain price in the master's books. Moreover, no wages were to be paid him until the crop was harvested. To realise how a contract like this was carried out one must remember the mental attitude of the master. He regarded himself as defrauded, the contract as a makeshift to keep his labour from running away, and the whole intolerable situation as forced upon him by an enemy at the point of the bayonet. He felt under no moral obligation to keep the terms of the contract so long as he could keep the labourer at work. Fully two-thirds of the freed hands found themselves therefore working on the same plantations as before under practically the same conditions. They got their advances of food, etc., once a week, and at the end of the year they usually found that they had consumed all the wages due them and perhaps more, and stood naked to sign for another year's slavery.

There was naturally wide dissatisfaction, especially as the field hands saw the servants and soldiers beginning to buy land and become independent farmers. They began to leave their employers and run away to town, and the employers complained bitterly of the instability and laziness of free Negro labour. In this way a further concession was forced from the landowner, and the cropper appeared. The cropper's contract made his wage depend on the size of the crop which he raised, the owner still furnishing land and tools, and advancing food and clothes. But here again every advantage was in the hands of the owner: he handled the crop and sold it and made all calculations, and the result was, naturally, that the cropper was little better off than the labourer. Still some of the Negroes by this method and by working as day labourers in town gained some little capital. Many bought mules, the regulation beast of burden, and approached the landlords as share tenants. The landlord apparently yielded, and by 1880 the whole face of the labour contract in the South was in process of change from a wage contract to a system of tenantry. The great plantations were apparently broken up into 70 and 80 acre farms with black farmers. To many it seemed that emancipation was accomplished, and the black folk especially were filled with joy and hope.

It soon was evident, however, that the change was chiefly in name, not in reality. In theory the landlord was now furnishing the land and the tenant furnishing the capital and labour, and the crop was to be divided half and half. As a matter of fact, the tenant was still much too poor and too unacquainted with business to furnish all the capital save in exceptional cases. He therefore borrowed the capital necessary from the landlord at rates of interest amounting to anywhere from 10 per cent. to 100 per cent., and to secure this advance executed a mortgage to the landlord, or to a third person. But what could the mortgage be given on? It was not enough to mortgage the mule and the few tools, for in that case the landlord was not sure of his exorbitant interest, and the mule might die. To cover this difficulty the crop lien was invented. This meant that a blanket mortgage was executed covering the whole crop. But the crop was not yet in existence when the mortgage was given. Nevertheless the law was so manipulated as to allow the mortgaging of a non-existent property, and to-day hundreds of thousands of such mortgages are written each year. Not only this, but the crop-lien mortgage was adroitly turned into a labour contract. It usually stipulates for the labour of the tenant and all his family, does not allow any subsidiary occupations, even school attendance in harvest time, prohibits practically all diversification of crop by requiring an all-cotton scheme of culture, and puts the whole sale and settlement of the crop in the owner's hands; above all it makes the owner the sole judge as to whether the tenant is living up to his contract.

Such an arrangement was of course harking straight back to slavery, and it was only the wisdom of Negro enfranchisement that saved the day. The Negro voter was not wise or skilled enough to protect himself against such atrocities as the crop lien and vagrancy laws, but he did protect and extend his school system, and he kept open the door for a fairly free movement of labour from the slavery-dominated country districts to the free-labour towns. This meant that a group of black men was slowly but surely growing in intelligence and getting some ready money. The result was that between 1880 and 1890 a larger and larger number of share tenants were able really to furnish their own capital, and to insist that the rent be fixed at so many bales of cotton or so much money and that the tenant be allowed to sell his own crop. Thus appeared the real Negro renter as contrasted with the share tenant, and to-day among the landless Negroes fully one half have reached this stage. No sooner are they reaching it, however, than new hindrances are being invented in the shape of concentration of land ownership and capital and new labour laws.

This brings us to the third line of development in the South—Land and Capital. It has usually been assumed that the new



movement toward disfranchisement and racial segregation in the South is simply the natural recoil against a too wide granting of the suffrage in the past. This is only partially true. The new disfranchisement is in the main a master stroke of concentrated capital against labour and an attempt under the cover of racial prejudice to take a backward step in the organization of labour such as no modern nation would dare to take in the broad daylight of present economic thought. Slavery was made profitable in the 19th century by free rich land in America. This land was ruthlessly exploited and impoverished and the resultant land famine brought war and emancipation. Already before the war the land was widely mortgaged and landlords indebted to the large wholesale houses in Richmond, Montgomery, and New Orleans for supplies advanced. The war left a lot of nearly bankrupt landholders seeking to take advantage of the high price of cotton. It was natural that the first fixed idea of the landlord should be to force the labourer under cover of law. This he attempted through the courts with far-reaching consequences. In the old plantations the master was judge and jury in practically 9 out of 10 of all offences. After emancipation nearly all the judicial offices fell to him and his friends, and they proceeded to indict the Negro for petty offences in large numbers; it looked for a time as though a sort of slavery of the State was going to replace individual slavery. The short-lived Freedmen's Bureau and Negro suffrage interfered with this for a time, and later, after the Bureau had expired and the Negro political power had been curbed, crime peonage was revived under another form. Negroes were systematically arrested on the slightest pretext and then their labour leased to private individuals, or single individuals convicted of crime were paroled to any owner who paid his fine. This system is still widely prevalent, but the abuses of the convict-leave system became so outrageous that it has been greatly modified, while the U.S. government has set its law officers to uproot individual peonage. This renewed slavery by force and use of the courts had disastrous effects on the courts themselves and is the cause of the present difficulty of getting Southern courts to perform their normal functions. Meantime a newer and subtler method of controlling labour was arising by the labour contracts which I have described.

Finally a new man appeared on the scene—the retail merchant. He was a third party, owning a small provision shop in a county town. Gradually he insinuated himself between the landowner and the labourer. He guaranteed the landowner his rent and relieved him of details by taking over the furnishing of supplies to the labourer. He tempted the labourer by a larger stock of more attractive goods, and made a direct labour contract with him or

crop-lien mortgage. Thus he soon became the middle-man to whom all profits of the transaction flowed, and he began to get rich. Being a shrewd business man, he soon saw that while he could easily fleece the mass of Negro labourers and make them toil year in and year out for board and clothes, there was a certain minority too intelligent and pushing to make this policy safe. Some of these were helped by the former master's family, some had saved the wages earned in town, and more and more a group of Negro small landowners arose, who now amount to twenty-five per cent. of the Negro group. In 1900 the Census said: "We find that the total owned land of coloured farmers in continental United States in 1900 amounted to 14,964,214 acres, or 23,382 square miles—an area nearly as large as Holland and Belgium—and constituted 35·8 per cent. of all the land operated by coloured farmers." Of the proportion of farm ownership the Census says that between 1890 and 1900, while the number of Negro farmers probably increased by about 36 or 38 per cent., the number of Negro owners increased over 57 per cent., and the percentage of ownership by 3·5 per cent. So that 187,799 Negro farms, or 25·2 per cent. of all Negro farms were owned. The rapid increase of this group between 1890 and 1900, alarmed the merchants. They complained of scarcity of labour and they began systematically to scheme for some method by which Negro ambition could be kept from soaring too high, and by which the black man could be kept from benefiting from the new economic development of the South. The result was that the merchant class became the new politicians and they sought two ends:—

1. To break the political power of the Black labourers in the South.
2. To put forward a series of labour laws which should make the exploitation of Negro labour secure.

Both these things they were able to do under the cry of race prejudice. No method of inflaming the darkest passions of men was unused. The lynching mob was given its glut of blood, and egged on by purposely exaggerated and often wholly invented tales of crime on the part of perhaps the most peaceful and sweet-tempered race the world has ever known. Under the flame of this outward noise went the more subtle and dangerous work. Laws were passed, in the States where three-fourths of the Negroes live, so ingeniously framed that a black university graduate could be prevented from voting and the most ignorant white hoodlum could be admitted to the polls. Labour laws were so arranged that imprisonment for debt was possible, and leaving an employer could be made a penitentiary offence. Negro schools were cut off with small appropriations, or wholly neglected, and a determined effort

was made, with wide success, to see that no Negro had any voice in either the making or administration of local, state or national law.

In order to accomplish this it was, of course, necessary to secure the white labour vote of the South and the neutrality of the North. The former was accomplished by throwing white and black labourers so far as possible into rival competing groups and making each feel that the one was the cause of the other's troubles. To-day the white labourer regards the Negro artisan as a "scab" working for low wages, and the Negro regards the white workman as a tyrant who keeps him out of the Union and *forces* him to work for low wages. Meantime the neutrality of the North has been secured through their fear for the safety of large investments in the South, and through the fatalistic attitude common both in America and Europe toward the possibility of real advance on the part of the darker nations. Taking the 9,000,000 Negroes in the U.S. in 1900 we may roughly classify  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million of their workers about as follows:—

2,000,000 labourers	{	1,250,000 farm labourers.
		500,000 day labourers.
		250,000 washerwomen.

These are a semi-submerged class, some held in debt peonage, all paid small wages, and kept largely in ignorance.

1,200,000 working-men	{	125,000 skilled artisans.
		575,000 semi-skilled workers.
		500,000 servants.

This is the emerging group. They are handicapped by poor training and race prejudice, but they are pushing forward, saving something, and educating their children as far as possible.

250,000 independents	{	200,000 farmers.
		40,000 professional men.
		10,000 merchants.

This is the leading group of Negro-Americans. The mass of them have common school training, and there are some 5,000 college-trained men. They are accumulating property and educating their children. Their advance is opposed by a bitter and growing race prejudice.

What of the outlook? There are, economically speaking, three rays of hope.

1st. The white labourer; unless the American labourer is a bigger fool than he has been in the past he is going to realise that the degradation of a great group of competing labourers means his own degradation and the loss of much of the ground gained in the great battles of this country.

2nd. The American Negro himself cannot be kept down; for physical virility, hard work, and dogged determination to force the gates of civilisation, there are few such examples in modern history, and in the long run it must tell.

Finally, there is a large and growing feeling among the better class of Americans that the American stand on the colour question is retrograde and reactionary and is putting America in a false light before the world and spoiling its ideals. Such men and women include Jane Addams, O. G. Villard, Moorfield, Story, Jacob Schiff, Charles Edward Russell, Francis J. Harrison, John E. Milholland, and John Dewey. They and prominent Negroes have formed an Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, with a two-fold object: first, to study this problem of racial contact and publish the results; and secondly, to spread a broader and higher view of the duties of groups and races of men toward each other. We recognise that the problem of completely emancipating the black labour in the Southern United States and giving to coloured Americans their full rights as citizens according to individual merit, is but a local phase of the vastest and most insistent problem which the world faces to-day—the problem of humanity. How far is the world composed of an aristocracy of races, unalterable and unmoveable, by which certain peoples have a right to rule and exploit all others, with no hope of equal rights and privileges among men within any reasonable time? It seems to us in America of unusual significance that almost simultaneously with our movement arose the idea of a Universal Races Congress where humanity face to face should at least state its burning problems. In all these problems we cannot doubt lies the economic core, the old slavery which is determined to reduce human labour to the lowest depth in order to derive the greatest personal profit. Against this world-old tendency the black men of America are fighting a battle on the frontiers of the world—and for their success they ask the active sympathy of all right-thinking men.

W. E. B. DuBois.

## INTER-RACIAL PROBLEMS.\*

WE live in an age of Congresses. Some people go to many of them: others abstain from them all. Their effective influence is, however, by no means limited to those who attend them. The mere fact of a Congress being held is perhaps the principal thing: it is a visible sign that something is alive. And by the preparation for them, their announcement among the events of the season, and the reports which the Press may vouchsafe to them, their subject flashes momentarily before the eye of the world in a way that is not effected so extensively by any other means. For a purpose so far-reaching in its scope as the promotion of a better understanding and a deeper sympathy among the races of mankind it is obvious that the influence upon those actually assembling at a given time and place must be of small account in comparison with such attention as was gained for the fact of an assembly of this kind being called together. The meetings of the First Universal Races Congress in the University of London buildings last July had a very considerable measure of success in both ways. Some hundreds of members of many races, great and small, met for the better part of a week in formal discussion and in social intercourse, attending with marked regularity and with an interest that was sustained to the close. It did not escape the notice of the keen-eyed journalists deputed to report upon the Congress that it was largely composed of people a little out of the ordinary: 'cranks' is too severe a term; independent workers for causes somewhat off the main lines, let us say. But, on the other hand, for every one of these there was some contact between his special subject and the race-problem; some way in which colour influences crossed the course of the reform he advocated, or something which led to a special reason for hoping that racial animosities could be reduced or overcome. There was an entire absence of active participation by Governments, and even the great missionary societies took no particular interest, for reasons best known to themselves. But the attendances of those who took part were maintained at a high level and the interest never seemed to flag, in spite of a sub-tropical atmosphere and the disadvantages of the temporary building which is all that the University has at its disposal for large assemblies. The speaking, nearly all in English, was of a high order of merit, in many variations from impassioned rhapsody to the coolest argumentation. The principal defect was due to the desire of the promoters to cast

\* Inter-racial Problems: Papers communicated to the First Universal Races Congress, July, 1911. P. S. King, 7s. 6d.



a comprehensive net which should bring in all races and all manner of subjects. This led to a feeling of hurry, and to dissipation of interest and attention, and also to not a few disappointments on the part of speakers who had travelled far to state their case. But it was natural to a First Congress, and for succeeding ones principles of selection must be carefully devised.

The permanent fruit to be gathered from this Congress consists not in the reports of the speeches and discussions but in the collection of the papers which were laid before the Congress and, more or less closely, formed the bases of its deliberations. They are no less than 57 in number, and range from the abstract discussion of what 'race' means, or should mean, to particular difficulties arising from the situation of individual races or nationalities; from the consideration of the function of religion or morals or language to the wide-ranging problem of the Negro or the narrowly defined problem of the half-castes of Brazil.

It would be invidious to select particular papers for critical appreciation, and unnecessary for the purposes of this *Review*. I will only venture to call attention to some topics which seem to have received treatment deserving the attention of students of Sociology by reason of the authority of the writers of the papers or by the fresh presentation of facts or opinions of importance.

A significant convergence of testimonies to the essential unity of mankind appears from many parts of the volume. Professor von Luschan of Berlin speaks strongly in this sense: and this is the more notably because he rates differences so highly that he somewhat astonished the Congress by a proclamation of his belief that the struggle for life occasioned by the differences is a better thing than absolute brotherhood would be. There was indeed almost a Bismarckian flavour in the conclusion of his paper which evoked considerable criticism from an audience largely composed of persons highly prepossessed in favour of universal peace as an attainable and desirable ideal. Dr. Myers, of Cambridge, laid down emphatically as his first fundamental "That the mental characters of the majority of the peasant class throughout Europe are essentially the same as those of primitive communities"; and he gave reasons for holding that there are no substantial racial differences either in sensory discrimination, or memory, or temperament, or even in power of self-control. Professor Boas, of Columbia, sums up against such stability of type as would give rise to a definite hereditary superiority of one race over another. Mr. Lyde, of University College, fully appreciating the strength of the barrier due to skin-colour, yet assigns this to climatic influences not to any deep stratum of organic constitution. And Mr. Spiller (the indefatigable organizer of the Congress) reads the evidence on the mental side with similar result. On the

pressing problem of the desirability of the mixture of races we have some emphatic opinions before us. In the paper expressly devoted to the subject, Professor Finch, of Wilberforce University, U.S.A., decides strongly for the beneficent consequences of mixture. Races tending far towards decline have been revived by crossing with a newly arrived stronger race. The apparent moral inferiority of a mixed population can be explained from the circumstances in which the admixture takes place, and is temporary only. Corroborative testimony is given in the paper on China by Wu Ting Fang, late Chinese Minister at Washington, who writes, "I am inclined to the opinion that when a nation has a large number of its people who marry with foreigners, it is a sign of progress." And from another quarter by Dr. Eastman, a North American Indian, who holds that mixed unions between his people and whites, "when based upon mutual sympathy and affection have been generally happy, and have had the best results": and he looks forward to the amalgamation of his race in the general population of America. And yet again, Dr. De Lacerda is convinced that the Metis or Half-breeds of Brazil though not so strong as the Aryan stock are above the level of the Negro, and have already done sufficiently well to justify high expectations for their share in the future of Brazil.

A very interesting application of measurement to intellectual gifts, natural capacity, and educational opportunity is made by Mr. John Gray in a paper which is only tentative, but highly suggestive for further investigation.

The special function of the white race is considered by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, and its opportunities in the various dependencies and colonies administered by Europeans are carefully weighed by a successful and sympathetic retired Colonial Governor, Sir Charles Bruce, and by an equally successful and sympathetic Governor still on duty, Sir Sydney Olivier. On this topic there is also a paper by Mr. J. M. Robertson on lines familiar to his readers. The complication introduced into International Law by the existence of dependent and protected races is skilfully treated by Sir John Macdonell, who shows that a department of International Law is required to meet the situation.

The influence of Religion, both as separative and as consolidating, is treated by Professor Rhys Davids, and the special topic of religious propaganda and the conditions of its legitimacy in the modern world by the writer of this notice. Professor Margoliouth deals with Language, and is of opinion that the prospect before us is that we must all be bi-lingual, every man becoming able to use both the language of his own people and whatever language shall win the position of a universal medium of communication in the world. Professor Sergi, Dr. Adler, and Professor Mackenzie deal with inter-racial Ethics in various aspects, and Professor Fouillée

joins them in looking for a gradual modification which will issue in a great variety and richness of expression based on some fundamentals in which all races will share. The diffusion of Parliamentary Rule as a source of common sympathy is dealt with by Dr. Lange, of Norway. Economic problems and their world-wide range occupy several papers: Mr. Hobson taking up Markets; Professor Lauck and Mr. Croxton, of Washington, Wages and Immigration; Professor von Navrath, of Hungary, Investments and Loans; while the pressing topic of the sale of Intoxicants and noxious Drugs is dealt with, but inadequately, by Dr. Aberdanon of The Hague. There is also a valuable paper by the late Sir Charles Dilke on Indentured and Forced Labour. On the world-aspect of Science, Art, and Literature such observations as were possible within so brief a compass are made by Professor Tönnies, of Kiel. A paper on the position of Women, by Sister Nivedita, looks to a combination of the civic ideal of the West with the family ideal of the East as the road of improvement for the general position of woman in the world. Dr. Frances Hoggan makes some suggestions for alleviating the difficult position of white women resident among Negro populations.

The situation and prospects of some particular races are dealt with separately. Mr. Gokhale writes forcibly and judiciously, as we should expect from him, for the people of India, and Mr. Zangwill in his characteristic way for the Jews; while the Persians, Turks, Egyptians, the North American Indians and the Negroes of Haiti are not forgotten. There are also presentations of the situation in China and in Japan by men of high official standing, well worthy of attention. The race which loomed most largely, as matter of fact, at the Congress itself was the Negro. By our expansion the white race has plunged itself into two different difficulties here: we have entered, uninvited, into the black man's continent, and we have dragged masses of Negroes, unsolicited, across the sea to one of our own reserves. Sir Harry Johnston gives a résumé of the prospects in Africa, and Professor Du Bois writes a powerful paper—and himself stood out as one of the most effective members of the Congress itself—upon the difficulty in America. Illuminative as these papers are, the difficulty, we feel bound to say, stands abrupt and formidable as before.

There are also some papers dealing with various methods now in operation for the organization of humanity: Treaties, Peace Conferences, the Hague Tribunal, the Press. A new project was launched by the Congress deciding to set up a small permanent Committee to arrange for a second Congress, which will probably be held in America in about three years' time. The experience of this First Congress is, on the whole, encouraging, and lessons gained from its successes and its weaknesses will be available for

guidance for another in which a more definite and less extensive field of discussion should be selected. Not the least advantage will be the possession of this volume of papers from which the course of the next series of discussions can be marked out. And to those who have no intention of connecting themselves with this or any other Congress this collection of studies may very well be extremely useful as showing the general situation of race-problems in 1911.

A. CALDECOTT.

## CONCERNING GOLF (AND OTHER) BALLS.

PROFESSOR GEDDES, in a brilliant essay published on the conclusion of the Chino-Japanese War, in which, starting from St. Andrews, he passes by a gentle transition to the sociological significance of "cash," France after 1870-1, and to the new development which he predicted for China, has expounded the origin of Golf. The shepherd of the St. Andrews foreshore could on that narrow strip of pasture develop none of the distinctive characteristics of the pastoral civilisations; instead of adapting himself, and his descendants, to his occupation, he must needs modify the conditions of his life to suit the cravings of his Viking blood. Tranquillity and contemplation irk him; he must find some active exercise. He swings his shepherd's crook, and strikes the pebbles. After a while he finds it more amusing to select a particularly white and round pebble, and to drive it in a particular direction, straight into the rabbit hole which he marks within an appropriate distance. Thus Golf begins, and St. Andrews makes its contribution to the life of Scotland first, of Europe and America latterly.

So much for the origin of golf. But a little further consideration may well be given to the psychology of the game—if game it be. What is it that makes the action of knocking a little white ball with a crooked stick so soothing to the nerves of the middle-aged clerk or sugar-broker? So far as I know no one has given the answer. That, however, is probably due to my utter ignorance of the literature of golf, because the answer is so obvious that it springs to the mind the moment the question is seriously asked. The very word "club" used by the golfer to denote his crooked stick conveys it. The little white ball represents nothing less than the skull of your enemy. When you smite it with brassy or cleek, your nerves thrill to the very stimulus which maddened uncounted generations of your ancestors through ages of palæolithic savagery in tribal warfare. It is, probably, on some of your earliest visits to the links that you best realise this, when, again and again, you open your shoulders and strike with repeatedly increasing vigour, and still that little white ball grins back at you from the spot where it lies on the turf.

There is, in fact, an elementary pleasure in the mere striking of a ball cleanly and effectively. This forms what we may call the primary constituent in the charm, not of golf only, but of ball games in general. The intensity of this particular pleasure varies in proportion to the closeness with which the sensations of primitive



contest are copied. Thus it detracts somewhat from the pleasure of golf that the symbol of the enemy's skull lies motionless; the tennis player, the batsman at cricket, the association footballer, all aim their blows at objects full of motion and apparent life. On the other hand the pleasure of the act of striking is intensified in golf from the bonelike hardness of the golf ball, and the equal hardness of the wood or metal club with which it is struck. In comparison the soft tennis ball and springy racket are insipid. Cricket here does not compare ill with golf, and I think it offers on the whole a keener thrill than golf can to the batsman who hits hard and successfully. But cricket is chancy, and fraught with frequent disappointments.

The second elementary constituent in the pleasure of golf is also related to early, though not to the most primitive, human life. It is the pleasure of seeing the ball speed like a well-directed arrow towards its destined mark. The throwing stick first, and the bow later, tuned the nerves of humanity to respond to this sensation. It was an element in the joy of the chase as well as in the joy of the warfare; it remains an element in the joys of ball games generally, more refined and less brutal than that of dealing smashing blows on the skull-symbol. For the experts among players, and for the connoisseurs among spectators, this is the dominant pleasure. It is neolithic rather than palæolithic. Nevertheless it carries back the soul of the twentieth century Briton to a very remote and barbaric stage in human evolution.

This psychic return to neolithic barbarism and to palæolithic savagery is the secret of golf. It is the reason of the rapid spread of golf-mania among nations of city-dwellers who suffer more and more from the strain of the ever-increasing rapidity of social evolution. It is the fact by which we must appraise the good and evil of this golf development, which is no unimportant element in the social movement of our day. How far is it morally permissible for a man to fall out of the ranks of twentieth century civilisation, to relax the muscles and tendons of his soul, and practise the (morally) easy virtue of hitting straight and hard? As before, the answer leaps to the mind. Moral relaxation is an imperative need. The occasional round of golf is invaluable to the man who lives under a continual strain of mind and will. The affairs of the nation no doubt are all the better conducted because of the hours which Mr. Balfour and Mr. Lloyd George spend on the links. But let relaxation become the rule instead of the exception, and moral perdition follows. To be a "plus man" is to be branded with shame. To him must be said what Herbert Spencer is alleged to have said to the young billiard player:—"A moderate degree of skill is a graceful accomplishment, such extreme proficiency as you display argues an ill-spent youth."

Somewhat different considerations, however, must be taken into account when we turn from golf for middle-aged men to cricket and football for boys. Cricket is not for a small boy a relapse into barbarism, but an elementary lesson in social organisation. It makes him one of a tribe, one of a band of eleven co-operators under a captain, like the peasants of an Anglo-Saxon village tilling under their "borsholder." It is discipline, not relaxation—or rather, I should say, discipline more than relaxation; the discipline in cricket being the powder masked by the sweets of varied imitations of fighting and the chase. As I have indicated above, to the batsman his bat is a club, the red cricket ball the head of the enemy. But to the fieldsman it is a flying bird to be caught. Then again to the bowler it is the missile with which to bring down his quarry. But this surrounding atmosphere of barbarism is, for the small boy, the boy under fourteen, only his normal ethical atmosphere; for him the potent, vital, educative element in cricket is the element of organised co-operation, of order and obedience, and of team loyalty. So valuable is this element *for the boy under fourteen*, that one may well doubt whether it would not profit the nation to substitute cricket fields for those buildings modelled partly on the prison and partly on the factory known as public elementary schools. But here again to realise the importance of giving boys elementary training in civilisation is also to realise the folly of never going beyond the elements. Oxford and Cambridge must give up encouraging their students to spend the best part of the summer days in the cricket field before they can become worthy of the name of university.

It is a matter worthy of the attention of all who aspire to democracy as a social and political ideal that boys of the wealthy class get much cricket, boys of the poorer classes but little, and that little under inferior conditions. It is as important to democratise the opportunities for moral training as it is to democratise knowledge. But at least whether a given boy gets much cricket or little, whether he gets it on a rolled and shaven field or in a back alley, it is still cricket. The game in the slums has "hitched its wagon to a star," it is governed, like the game played at Eton and Harrow, by the rules of the M.C.C. But in football there is a class distinction, which is getting gradually more and more marked, in the nature of the game played. Association exclusively is the game of the public elementary school, Rugby to an increasing degree the game of the public school. Which is the better? This question has been, and is being much argued, but entirely with reference to unimportant side issues. Association, if I may trust my memory, between thirty and forty years ago was imposed upon many schools by mothers. They demanded a game that was not "rough," something that involved less tumbling upon the ground,

less dirtying and damaging of clothes. Victorian femininity utterly failed to realise how ridiculously insignificant is a boy's raiment in comparison with the growth of his soul. Association is not a bad game; it is indeed an excellent game, capable of instilling that willing obedience to a law seen to be necessary which is the only possible basis of freedom, and that quick individual and personal initiative combined with social co-operation which is the necessary raw material of national efficiency. These merits it has in approximately an equal degree with Rugby. And yet there is in Rugby a moral superiority so great that this class distinction between the two games is calculated to prolong indefinitely the ancient severance between gentle and simple. Other things being equal the boy brought up on Rugby will make a better man and a better citizen than the boy brought up on Association. To explain this statement it is necessary to examine further the nature of the two games.

Football of all varieties is directly derived from tribal warfare. Yorkshiremen have handed on to me descriptions given by their fathers or uncles of football as it used to be played in their native villages. It was a mimic battle, closely imitating the reality, between village and village. The ball was placed on the connecting road where it was crossed by the parish boundary. The rank and file of villagers on either side tried to drive the ball by main strength into the centre of the opposing township, to plant the signal of victory in the enemy's stronghold. Meanwhile those whose means enabled them to be mounted hovered round in the fields, inviting the footmen of their own side to throw the ball out to them. When a horseman caught it he rode at full speed for the hostile village; the defending horsemen pursued him, smote him on the head with their heavy whip handles, seized the ball, to be themselves pursued in turn.

In form Rugby has undergone less modification than Association. The student of old Greek military tactics, which were derived directly from warfare between village and village, instinctively illustrates them from Rugby football. The "All Blacks' " scrum formation is in principle identical with the Theban phalanx, invented by Epaminondas. Phalanx conflict is dropped in Association, the game becomes a continual series of individual conflicts between forward on one side and half or full back on the other. In Rugby mass conflict alternates with individual conflict. But in spirit Rugby has been much more profoundly civilised and humanised than Association. Consider the manner in which individual combatants meet one another in the two games. In Association the defence meets the attack by the shoulder charge. In Rugby the defender clasps his arms lovingly round the attacker. If he knows how to collar properly he puts his whole energy into

that embrace and sinks gently to the ground with his opponent. The difference in psychic reaction is considerable. I am convinced that the schoolboy feels just one degree more friendly to a school-fellow when he has collared him, just one degree less friendly when he has charged him.

Now if the basic elements of a sound and secure social order depend on moral qualities which are fostered among boys equally by cricket, Association, and Rugby, the higher developments of civilisation depend on the success with which school life, largely by means of school games, trains boys to obey the maxim "Love your enemies." Before we can love our enemies we must have enemies to love; and our first duty to our enemies is to fight them earnestly and overcome them fairly. All active civic life is conflict, all social advance is warfare. But the success of civic life and of social advance depend upon the power of the citizen to crush down all feelings of personal enmity towards opponents. He must love his enemies while he fights them. He must have learnt—

" To set the cause above renown,  
    To love the game beyond the prize,  
To honour, while you strike him down,  
    The foe that comes with fearless eyes;  
To count the life of battle good,  
    And dear the land that gave you birth,  
And dearer yet the brotherhood  
    That binds the brave of all the earth."

There is, I believe, no school game quite equal to Rugby football for training boys to this standard of citizenship. I give all honour to those masters in public elementary schools who are training their boys in Association football. But I should like to put the question very seriously before the Board of Education, whether it ought not to take steps to make Rugby instead the national winter game for British boys of all classes.

GILBERT SLATER.

TWO AMERICAN INDIAN DANCES.<sup>1</sup>

IN a first experience of anthropological fieldwork, it is exceedingly pleasant to come across facts which fit the theories taught in England and at Oxford: and I venture to say that no one who watches the behaviour of a non-European society at close quarters can fail to find many aspects of it which illustrate the teaching of the author of *The Threshold of Religion* and *The Birth of Humility*. But there is another experience only less instructive; and that is, when it seems that the theories do not quite cover the facts. It is about a suspicion of this kind that I wish to consult you, in connection with current theories about Society and the Individual and the Mob.

Social anthropologists have been so anxious to break away from the old theory that Society developed through the growth of "definite law, to restrain a ferocious individualism which would otherwise have made co-operation impossible," that they have led us to the opposite extreme. They seem inclined to treat the savage entirely as one of a crowd, and to look on individuality as wholly a product of civilisation. In part this is a theoretical revolt against old half-truths; in part, I think, it comes from a fault in the evidence—a scarcity of observations. "Savages" seem to lack individuality before we know them, just as all Englishmen look alike to a Chinaman newly landed in Shadwell.

Here, for example, is a fellow student in the University of London<sup>2</sup> laying it down as an axiom, that "the more primitive a society, the more completely is the individual . . . subordinated to the group to which he is mentally and morally assimilated." That is, and no doubt is intended to be, a sweeping statement: but Mr. Marett also has said something of the kind in his inaugural lecture:<sup>3</sup> "The fundamental characteristic of savage society and savage mentality is that they are *mobbish* . . . . A mob is occasional among civilized people; whereas the savage mob is permanent and has a tradition."

I think that statements like this involve a certain confusion—not, of course, in the writer's own mind, but in the minds of his pupils and followers. First, a confusion between different kinds of "savage" society. Secondly, a confused idea of the relation of the individual to society and to a mob.

1. A paper read before the Oxford University Anthropological Society, June, 1911.

2. Mr Percy Anstey, in *The Clare Market Review*, May, 1911.

3. *The Birth of Humility*, Oxford, 1910.



To be subordinated to society, to live by tradition, to be bound hand and foot, if you will, in the net of custom, is not to be one of a mob. A mob is a random concourse of individuals, acting on a common impulse and united by it for just so long as the impulse lasts. There may be a leader who sets the mob going, and a mob may improvise leaders as it goes; but it has no preordained officers and no prescribed course of action. A regiment in action is an organised society: the same regiment demoralised by panic is a mob. The individual is subordinated to the regiment:—

“— the ugly bullets come pecking through the dust,  
And no one *likes* to face them, but every fellow *must*”;

and the individual is lost in the mob; but in a very different way.

“I 'eard the knives be'ind me, but I dursn't face my man,  
Nor I don't know where I went to, 'cause I didn't 'alt to see,  
Till I 'eard a beggar squealing out for quarter as 'e ran,  
An' I thought I knew the voice, an' it was me!

A society is permanent: a mob is temporary. And when Mr. Marett says that “the savage mob is permanent and has a tradition,” it seems like a contradiction in terms.

By the liberality of Somerville College, I have lately seen two American Indian peoples, each of them with a material culture much ruder than our own. One—that of the Mohave-Apache Indians on the Verde River, Arizona—seems to be made up of individuals very little subordinated to society, but now and then combined in a mob by temporary impulses. The other—that of the Pueblo Indians on the upper Rio Grande, New Mexico,—is a society so organised that each man is as responsible and as dependent as a player in an orchestra; and, though the mob is not an unknown phenomenon there, it occurs somewhat more rarely than among the individualized populations of white America.

In material culture, the Mohave-Apache are much less advanced than the Pueblo Indians. They used to live in scattered camps on the hills overlooking the Verde River; wherever a spring broke out, there two or three families were grouped together. Now, the Government has moved them to a reservation in the valley, but still they live in camps scattered along the river-front. They have no building for common use.

The Pueblo Indians live in compact villages, with houses built almost continuously around a central plaza. The village is near a large stream from which all the people fetch water. In the plaza are one or more dance-houses (*estufas* the Spanish explorers called them) common to all the people or to large social divisions. The

fields are just below the village, the pasture and the forest just above.<sup>1</sup>

The Mohave-Apache used to shift with the seasons, though within a limited area. A Pueblo Indian, normally, lives all his life and dies at last without moving his dwelling-place many yards from the house where he was born. To a man of the last generation, life outside the pueblo was barely conceivable. The unifying effect of this is worth considering. For us, Oxford is associated with sentiments of a peculiar quality, because of three or four years in which we did more living than in other years of our life. "For our brethren and companions' sakes, we will wish her prosperity: yea, because of the house of the Lord our God we will seek to do her good." But for a Son of the Pueblo, not a part only, but the whole of life is bound up with one set of associations. Childhood, courtship, marriage, fatherhood; office, responsibilities, ambition, war; losses, anxiety, sickness, death—all pass over the same scene: so that the mere aspect of the houses and the fields, the river and the mountains, the hills of sunrising and the hills of sunset are ingrained into the very making of his soul. The result is, not seldom, a passion of love for the pueblo, a stubborn tenderness for which our "patriotism" would seem too cold a name.

To return to our comparison. Two hundred Mohave-Apaches are spread over seven miles: two hundred Pueblo Indians are housed in about an acre. Some Mohave-Apache men scarcely meet once a year: almost all the Indians in a pueblo see each other every day. The Mohave-Apache used to live by hunting and by gathering wild fruits; now the Government is teaching them to grow corn, each for his own family. The Pueblo Indians live by growing maize and other crops on a system of co-operative irrigation.

The Mohave-Apache have, or used to have, a chief, but he had no functions except in war. The social units are the camps, each camp being dominated by the most important middle-aged family man: old people have very little influence. Two or three camps, it seems, formed a local group. These local groups were named after the places where they lived; thus, *viál gamí páya*, "the mescal-peak people." Now, on the reservation, people are classed as *isapô*, "those who know each other," that is, people who used to be members of one or other of the local groups. This corresponds more or less with the present-day grouping of camps on the reservation.

The Pueblo Indians are grouped in clans, and phratries, and functional religious societies besides. They govern themselves

1. This is meant to apply to the villages on the Upper Rio Grande, not to all the New Mexican pueblos.

by a quite elaborate compensating machinery of caciques, governor, war-captain and council, specialised (or so it seems) out of a general ascendancy of the older men.

When the Mohave-Apache were pestered by a sorcerer who caused too many deaths, some bold individual killed him with a club, first taking the neighbours into his confidence.

When a sorcerer became dangerous in the pueblo, the governor and council used to send the guards to execute him, or else call him to the council-room and use drastic means to make him repent. But sometimes popular impulse breaks through this organisation; and *there* you have a mob, executing lynch law.

As for religion, among the Mohave-Apache there are a number of individual specialists called *sumáje*, "dreamers," who have passed through a private experience not unlike conversion which has brought them into a special relationship with a supernatural Person, "the maker of all sumaje"—"It is not every man whom he chooses: he chooses the right man."—With the help of a drum or a rattle the *sumáje* can reproduce this experience, and then they sing to cure the sick, and do other things of that kind.

The Pueblo Indians have a ritual of great beauty and elaboration, conducted by colleges of priests. These priests perform wonders on occasion, but they act jointly, not separately. They have a *corpus* of sacred stories; and they have archaic formulas for every occasion, embracing even those actions of life which we should reckon secular.

And in view of the axiom that *ritual comes before dogma*, it is worth noticing that in the ruder society of the Mohave-Apache there is more tendency to dogma than among the Pueblo Indians: I mean, more opinion about religious matters reached by a process of individual speculation. Apparently reverence forbids the pueblo man to speculate much on the subject-matter of the sacred stories.

The same difference appears in their ethical views. If you were to ask a Pueblo Indian about morals, he would say, that all the people are good, "because they keep the customs." He might confess that some few men are not good; but they are regrettable exceptions. If you press him about himself, he will admit that he is a good man, like all the rest of the people; but not so good a man as his father. He knows how he ought to act in every relation of life, and every action is hedged with responsibilities, to the pueblo as a whole, and to various groups in it. To these every private advantage ought to be sacrificed. His opinion of the Apaches is, that they live "more like the brutes": and white people, too, are strangely unorganised, ferociously individual. "The Americans have no customs—except money: that is the custom of the Americans." In moments of depression, when rites

and responsibilities press on him very hard, he sometimes thinks that "it would be easier to live like the Americans and care for no one but oneself."

To be a good man makes a son of the Pueblo feel more like his fellows; but if a Mohave-Apache sets up to be "good," he feels that it makes him different from the common run. He is adhering to "a rule" which few keep; perhaps the Maker of all Sumáje has communicated it to him, or perhaps he approves of the missionary's rule. "I have one wife all the time," he says, "but these other people change wives like deer" . . . "Some Indians don't like to work—like to fool around all the time. I stand on God's word and the Government's word, and work like hell!"

Of course the difference between two such tribes is not a question of historical sequence, but of social morphology. The scattered population is individualized, the compact population is socialised. Both populations have occasional mobs; but, for the scattered, the mob is almost the only form of joint action which it has. Perhaps there would be no starting point for society if individuals had not a tendency to be "mobbish"; but the essential thing about society is this, that it has learnt to organize its mob. It is not a question of historical sequence. But if we venture on any historical inference from this American evidence, it must be this: that the process of civilization is an organizing process, by which the individual is subordinated to society, up to a certain point; whereas, after that point, while the elaboration of material culture continues along with intellectual specialisation, a process of individual emancipation sets in, which, from a social point of view, can only be called decivilising.

## II.

Mr. Marett has said that uncivilized people "dance out their religion." It might be said, I think, that they *dance out* their society. The dance is both the measure and the machinery of organization.

In a pueblo, you sum up political discord in one word when you say that "all the people are not dancing together." And when a reconciliation is in progress, it would be hard to say whether the accompanying dance more truly expresses the movement or brings it about. A revival of social solidarity means a revival of dancing.

I shall try to show, then, by a description of two typical dances, how the morphology of each of these Indian societies is expressed, and more particularly how the dance seems to make clear the relation of the individual to the community in each of them.

## III.

The Mohave-Apache come together from their scattered camps for a dance, when they have plenty of victuals—"when some man or woman feels sad and wants the people to dance to make them happy"—when a *sumáj* has had a dream of calamity—when something surprising has happened: in short, when they "feel like it." The chief in old times had a dancing-place at his camp, and he used to call the people to dance there before they went to war: it was his way of drilling the war party. Or a dance might come about like this: There was an old blind man, a hanger-on at the camp of a certain *Katháda nyá*. I guess he had been feeling rather neglected, and wanted a share of public attention. Anyway, he woke one night and felt something crawling on his chest. At first he made a very natural but erroneous conjecture as to the cause of the sensation; but then he caught the moving object, and found that it was a little image, about three inches high. In the morning he told the men of his camp, and they laid the image on a cloth and sang round it, and while they were singing it got up and walked around. It seems that only the blind man actually saw it walk. So they got food together, and all the people came; and at night they made a fire, and set up a pole with feathers on it, and laid the image on a cloth (I ought to say, perhaps, that it was a one-cent doll, left behind by some white settler's family); the *sumáje* beat the drum and sang in turns, and the people danced, and before daybreak the *sumáje* got inspired and told the people what the image meant.

There are no regular officials in charge of such a dance, but the man who called it clears the bushes off the ground and brings a big load of driftwood, and the dance will last until all the wood is burnt out. The families as they arrive, bringing food and dishes with them, take this wood and build their own camp-fires: a ring of little fire-circles round the dancing-ground. The dance seems to create officers of its own; one man cooks the food; the chief and some of the leading men take on themselves to distribute it to the families. When they have eaten, the man who called the dance stands up and says why he called it. Another man, "who is boss of the dance," stands up and harangues the people; he tells them "not to fight, not to beat children too much, to keep their minds to the dance . . . If you look at another man's woman, he will get mad and there will be trouble: don't do it this time." Doubtless it is better to look at the girls who don't belong to anyone: and indeed, they are very attractive; and some of them come from distant camps—the young men do not see them every day.

There is a fire built in the middle of the dancing-ground, and one of the *sumáje* sits down by it, and takes the water-drum and



begins to sing. Gradually, other men gather round him and join in the chorus:—

a a he | nayé | ayá  
a a he | nahó | eyó.

The "boss" calls to the girls to come out and dance: he walks about the ground, and utters weird cries and catcalls to raise their spirits. In the pauses of the singing, laughs and catcalls come from the families seated round their fires. At about the third song, some girls get up and dance in a long line, linking elbows, with their backs turned to the firelight; when the music stops, people laugh and catcall at them, and all but two run away. Up jumps an old woman, and says, *she* is not ashamed! she begins to dance all alone. She advances with very short steps, bending her knees and bearing heavily on each foot in turn, and hugging herself in her shawl, until she is quite close to the music and facing it; and there she continues dancing on one spot, lifting one foot after the other, slightly bending her knees and stooping. She calls directions to the drummer and the singers, she joins in the singing as the fancy takes her. Whenever the music stops, she expostulates—"I want to dance," she says—she catcalls, she chaffs the singers and the other dancers; and sometimes she goes on talking while she is dancing.

By and by things warm up. The girls dancing in line grow bolder; they turn their faces to the firelight; they enjoy the laughter and catcalls addressed to them. The boss calls to them, Why don't they catch a man? At last a pair of girls take heart to make the plunge; for a while they stand giggling, hand in hand; then they run past the fire and capture one of the young men who are looking on; and the three of them dance arm in arm—the girls facing the fire, the boy between them with his back to the light, because, you see, he is still shy. When the music stops they part, with an exchange of catcalls. And now the people catch the dancing impulse. The women need not hunt young men any more—they just stand in couples and smile, and the men come after them. And long lines of boys and girls are dancing too: and the *sumáj* at the drum is getting into his singing state "when he can see things," and he sings about the mountains and the stars and the wind and thunder and lightning and daybreak, and all the countries of the world that the Maker of all *Sumáje* is showing him; and very soon he will tell us all about that image . . . . . Until the fires burn down and daylight comes, and the families pack up their traps and go.

I don't think all the girls are here. But it does not matter very much if one or two are missing: in four days' time or so they will turn up at their camps and say which young man it was that they went off with; and he will call, and arrange the bride-price.

That is the Mohave-Apache dance—a crowd, and some victuals, and a drum—the excitement of a random concourse of family groups which seldom meet. Simply the circumstances in which emotion may develop: no more organised than a wake or a fair or a modern English ball. Free scope for individual impulses; free scope for the impulse of a mob. Not in any way prescribed, expected, prepared beforehand, at least so far as one can see; not informed with any definite ideas, not consciously aimed at beauty.

And yet, there are rudiments of organisation about it. The invitation given—the ground prepared—the co-operative meal. Certain improvised functionaries it has; the men who cook and distribute, the boys who drive the dogs away, the “boss” who calls on the people to dance and exhorts them to keep the peace and mind the business in hand. Clearly, this tendency in the dance to create its own officers might be an important feature of the war-dance; it would help to give a temporary organisation as well as a temporary cohesion to the war party. And again, in the way of technique, there is a division of parts between the leader of the singing, the drummer and the chorus; there are rudimentary figures in the dance; there is a possibility of comic drama in the old lady who chaffs the musicians in the intervals of her dancing. But none of these things are developed, because after each dance the people disperse to their camps, and all is to do over again.

If some closer concentration of the Mohave-Apache were to come about, presumably the dance would organise itself, and civilise the dancers in the process. In Mr. Marett's words, the mob would be permanent and would have a tradition—and thereby as I maintain, it would cease to be a “mob.” But in fact, this particular experiment will not take place, because the Government of the United States is going to make the Mohave-Apache into individual, Presbyterian, American citizens.

#### IV.

Now let me try to tell you how things are in the Pueblo of Khâpō, when the people are dancing to bring the early spring rain. Recall for a moment the scene in which the dance takes place; the compact little town above the river; the flat-roofed houses round the open *plaza*; the two large *estufas*—the dance-houses—with blank windowless walls and wide ladders for access. The dance I speak of “comes out” in late January or early February. And this dance, too, is supposed to be the outcome of an impulse: “the boys,” it is said, “want to dance.”

If I had been asked how such a dance would come about, I should have said, *a priori*, that it was founded on the general expectation of spring and the opening of the season for irrigation and planting, with all the community-work which they entail;

that this expectation of action in common favoured an access of social feeling which sought expression in the dance. And then comes in the effect of social habit, making the dance traditional and obligatory.

But this is too simple. I am talking as if the Pueblo Indians had developed agriculture and town life and yet had the social equipment of the Mohave-Apache. I was not allowing for an organisation to match the social morphology; and, in particular, I was not allowing for the organic specialisation of function by groups which is so marked in pueblo society. "The boys" (the unmarried men, that is) constitute an organ with functions, and apparently it is their function to feel the impulse to dance and communicate it to the rest of the body politic.

In winter "the boys" are more consciously an organ, and so, I suppose, more sensitive, than at other seasons. From March to November the fathers of families are in action, conducting farm work and irrigation; the boys are scattered, merged as their assistants. But from November to March the boys' functions come to the fore. Farm work is at a standstill. The only work is to bring firewood from the mountains, and by custom that is the boys' work: in former times they performed it more organically, so to speak, when all the boys brought wood for a common stock, not for their separate families. With the boys originates the impulse to play each of the winter games in turn; and as soon as the impulse reaches its height with them, it spreads from them upwards and downwards, to the young married men and to the children. So here, in the case of the dances, although there is undoubtedly a general emotional expectation of spring with its activities, yet it may well be true that the group of boys is the sensitive organ in which the impulse to dance for rain is first felt. "The boys want to dance." I knew some of the boys fairly well, but I never discovered who made the definite proposal; only, a boy would tell me as a valuable piece of news in advance, "They say that we are going to dance."—"When?"—"I don't know: maybe pretty soon."

Perhaps I am making too much of this. It may be said: Of course it is the boys who choose to dance, because they will have to do the actual dancing. But when one lives in a pueblo, it is hard to believe that anything is really spontaneous and unpre-scribed in the routine of society. However, such is the convention: no one in authority professes to order a dance, or to say when a dance will be, because "we cannot tell when the boys will want to dance." But there is a very general expectation that the boys will want to dance about the usual time.

This impulse to dance is very soon directed into orthodox channels. The boys go to the Captain of War and "take out a

dance"; that is, they tell him of their wish and he reports it to the Council, who decide that there is no reason why the dance should not begin at once—this is called "giving a day"; and the proper authority decides what particular dance they shall take out. Of which high matters I know nothing.

The affair has passed out of the boys' hands into the hands of the war captains and the cacique. The captain counts up how many dancers he will want, and gives notice from house to house that he requires them to dance; and after "dispensing" a few whose parents make excuse for them and accepting some volunteers (married people, perhaps, who have a vow to dance), he completes his list.

After one or two evenings of informal singing and drumming in a private house, the dancers go to the *estufa* for the formal practices. These practices extend over six, eight, even ten or eleven nights. They last from six or seven o'clock until long past midnight; and though they are genuine practices to learn the songs and dances, they are also important functions in themselves. In fact, the day when a dance "comes out" in public is only a part of the series of rites in the *estufa*. Sometimes the dancers sleep, eat, and spend the day in their homes; sometimes they stay in the *estufa* and have food brought them there. The old men who know the dance teach the songs and the steps. It may be twenty years "since this dance came out," but the proper ornaments have all been laid up for it, even to the last feather. At the close of each meeting, the cacique and other functionaries recite sacred formulas and preach to the dancers. When the girls begin to join in the practices, some old woman chaperons them in the *estufa* and takes them home again.

The cacique and the war captains are in charge—"the *estufa* is their house"—but the governor and all the high officers attend every practice and take part in the dancing. Once the series of practices has begun, they cannot leave the town, even if summoned to a general council of the league. It sounds a little like Mr. Marett's *genna*;<sup>1</sup> only I never had any feeling that the community was "on its spiritual sick-bed." On the contrary, the town never seems more alive than in those days of preparation. When the steady drum throbs half through the night, it is like the pulse of the town beating. Every morning there is a fresh rumour.

"We hear that the dance is to be *pogon shari*." This is one of the dances in which the performers themselves sing, without a separate choir.

"Such and such girls have been chosen to dance"; and proud and pleased they are.

1. *The Birth of Humility*, pp. 22, 29.

"That Moqui man has been here to teach them a song in the Moquino language."

"Who knows when the dance will come out? They say the boys are very slow learning the songs; they are not practising with girls yet."

"Compa' Faustino has made some new music, very beautiful."

"Last night they had the girls in: maybe they will come out Thursday or Friday."

"They have given out the macaw-tails to the fathers of the dancers, to mount them."

"The captains have announced that the dance will come out on Friday."

O that pleasant last day, the eve of the dance! when the rattles and the fox-skins and the turtle-shells are hanging ready in the houses; when the plaza has been swept, and the cacique is shut up "in the secret chamber of his house," performing his function, and the high officers have been with him there to make up the great headdresses of feathers for the girls; when the dancers are washing their long hair, and all the people wash theirs too, to fit them for their part in the ceremony. In the morning the dying groans of goats are heard, and in the evening the ovens glow like stars, and the smell of baking makes the town festive. When the morning of the dance comes, it only remains to put on fine clothes and sit in the sun, while the war captain and his assistants hurry to and fro between their houses and the estufa.

And now at last the drum throbs, and the bells and rattles sound upon the air with a sweet dry clashing, and the dance has come out. In single file they move across the plaza—thirty lads dressed, painted and feathered alike; bodies and limbs painted grey, white kilts and white streaming girdles, eagle feathers and macaw tails on their heads, eagle-down scattered on their flowing hair, red tassels swinging from their garters, fox-skins dangling from their belts behind, green branches on their necks and shoulders, rattles and green branches in their hands. Here comes the first of the women dancers, and here the second; in a stiff square dress of black and colours, and a huge arch of feathers overtopping the men. In each hand she carries two feathers in a corn-cob handle. Soberly, looking straight before them, they file to the first of their dancing-places in the plaza. Now they re-form, and move in echelon as the cranes fly. Now they are in line for the dance, facing their drummer. Two steps forward, two long shakes of the rattles:—

o wó ho wo

e yé he yi;

then they break into their full song, and all their scarlet tassels and white painted knees flash rhythmically up and down.



On the heights of the mountains  
in every direction  
the piñon cloud boys  
spread their arms abroad in beauty.

On the shady side of the mountains  
in every direction  
the piñon cloud boys  
have flowers of mist upon them.

In all the mountains  
in the depths of a lake  
the clouds are issuing :  
the mist spreads wide on high :  
hither they are coming.

In all the mountains  
from the depths of the lake  
the clouds are issuing :  
the mist spreads from above :  
they have come, they are here.

In truth, the dancers are clouds—boy-clouds and maiden-clouds. Now the two girls leave their places in the singing, stamping line, to dance up and down the length of it, passing and re-passing each other in a zig-zag trail, as clouds move before the thunder clap. Now they glide back into their places. No dancer gives a look, a thought to the spectators. They stare straight before them, with narrowed eyes and open mouths. The rattles are shaken in their hands, the green boughs toss, and their white knees flash; and the drum thuds, and the deep song swells and falls.

There far away in the lake of Tamo  
the mist is spread on high :  
the cloud boys are coming :  
They give their breath to us :  
by their help we are singing in beauty,  
we boys of Khâpô.

Two captains walk along the line, on the watch to pick up a fallen feather or tie a garter that comes loose. From time to time, one of them gives a little yelping cry, like a distant view-halloo. The old men, the high officers of the town, stand silent, very near. Their eyes never leave the dance. The people are silent, too; only now and then the words break from someone with a deep happy sigh, "Saawondi ívi jaréndi!"—"beautiful is their dancing!"

Emotion is there: the town throbs with emotion as it throbs to the drum; emotion rises and falls with the singing in great waves that flood the heart; but emotion that flows in ordained channels. It is not left to discharge itself at random by individual vagaries or in formless riot: it is informed with sacred ideas; it is expressed

in actions foreseen and foreordained; prescribed, expected, prepared. A sense of beauty and completeness, of absolute rightness, of expectation utterly fulfilled, sinks deep into the heart. All is as it should be: every man is in his function: they are doing as the clouds do, and as the fathers did long ago. All the beauty, all the order of the dances is according to the pattern of things in the heavens. And the people—we who watch the dance from the housetops—the married people, the women and children, all these gay blanketed figures standing out against the sky—are no mere spectators. Our looking-on at the dance is an act of assistance enjoined on us and regulated. We do not look on carelessly, but as worshippers look on at the Mass. By our assistance now, as well as by our expectancy through the days of preparation, we take our part in it and share the blessing.

In the intervals of the dance the performers file away to the *estufa*, where the *cacique* and others of his college await them, to pronounce sacred formulas and to give formal counsels "how they ought to live." The people go to their houses to feast on bread and cakes and boiled meat and dried peaches and pumpkins. All the visitors from other pueblos are called into the houses and fed: for we at Khâpô are not at all like those people in the story, to whom the Twin Heroes came on the day of a dance and found so little hospitality that they turned town and people and all into stone! No, we should like all the Indians in New Mexico to taste our food; on feast-days our plaza is more crowded with strangers than any other; the hungry Apaches come to us, and go away with their blankets full of bread. But first the women take baskets full of the food to the dancers in the *estufa*, and to the *cacique*, whose day it is—a ritual act of giving by which they relieve and express their emotion most pleasantly and naturally.

And now the dance has come out three times, and this is the end: you will see it no more this year. Do not watch to the very last as they climb the ladder to the *estufa*; and do not be sad, for all is as it should be. You should only be satisfied; it is over, and it is beautiful . . . . There go the boys, racing down to wash off their paint in the river, and then they will come back to common life and be clouds no longer. The winter dusk is closing in; come into the warm house and give the boys their supper, and we can talk over the dance—how long and beautiful it was, and how many visitors came and from how far away.

Everyone is tired. "Who knows, we shall get some sleep to-night," says the governor; "for ten nights now I have hardly slept."

Good night.

Listen. What is that?

It is the rain.

BARBARA FREIRE-MARRECO.

[For the sake of brevity, I have compressed the description of the Pueblo dance, omitting, for instance, the "vespers" and the early morning appearance of it. It is at these undress performances that the *capitanes* give the view-halloo, so curiously reminiscent of the cat-calling to excite the Mohave-Apache dancers. I do not know that the story of the Twin Heroes is told at this particular pueblo.

The sketch of the Mohave-Apache dance is made partly from actual observation, partly from secondhand reports of dances past and present. It would be unfair to allude to Mohave-Apache customs of courtship without mentioning also the persistent and hopeful efforts which the Superintendent at Camp McDowell (Arizona) is making to improve the morals of the reservation.—B.F.M.]

## NOTES.

**Herbert Spencer's Legacy.**

It is a matter of common knowledge that by way of providing a basis for the theory of his Synthetic Philosophy, Herbert Spencer made a collection of facts which were so valuable, that he determined to add to them and publish them in the classified form in which he himself used them, in order that they might serve as raw material for other workers in the sociological field. It is well known also, that after expending fourteen years' labour and losing £3,250 on the "Descriptive Sociology," he was obliged to abandon this colossal undertaking. Unfortunately the fact that he left his fortune in trust for the continuance of the work is not so well known; and Volumes IX and X, which were brought out last year, escaped the notice of even well-informed sociologists. And yet, prepared under the careful and efficient editorship of Spencer's friend and co-worker, Mr. Henry Tedder, they ought to have commanded attention through the length and breadth of the realm of sociological knowledge. Volume X, which treats of China, deserves both study and admiration. It represents a veritable toil of Hercules, which was performed by Mr. E. T. C. Werner, H.M.'s Consul at Foochow, and which contains more than 10,000 extracts from Chinese and Western literature, conveying an immense mass of information with regard to the origin and growth of Chinese civilization. On the scheme devised by Spencer the management of such a vast body of matter has been comparatively easy. His ingenious tables, into which the substance of the extracts is condensed, are worth special notice. Read from left to right they show the student the characteristics, religious, economic, political and so on, of the people he is studying at one and the same period. Read downwards they show the variations which these characteristics went through in successive periods of time. Members of the Sociological Society should certainly be on the look-out for the further issues of Mr. Tedder's "Descriptive Sociology." Three fresh folios—on the Classical Romans, the Hellenistic Greeks, and the Ancient Egyptians respectively—will be published shortly.

Beside the Spencerian work, if they have not already done so, we hope members will examine the criticism of it which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* last April. In this article the writer displays much insight into the psychology of the sociologist's mind. He contends that social phenomena are manifestations of feelings which take protean shapes according to the chance suggestions of the environment, at particular moments of experience that can never be revived when they have receded into the past. The impossibility, under these circumstances, of interpreting the feelings which gave rise to the events of the past, especially on intellectuallist principles, leads him to counsel sociologists to observe and classify present-day facts with the same devotion and critical acumen which they expend, fruitlessly, on those of periods into the life of which they cannot enter. The ideal equipment for such inquiry he describes as the absolute love of truth combined with absolute charity. For the sociologist, surely, the realization of that ideal is not

difficult. Working on the plan of Herbert Spencer, with the material and in the spirit recommended by the *Edinburgh* reviewer, could not the Sociological Society (one of its members asks), divided into suitable groups, gather together a body of facts which, unlike the sociological pemmican of the Spencerian work, would be hard and dry only as are the seeds from which fair and vigorous growths proceed in the fulness of time?

### The Finances of Ireland.

Professor Oldham's paper on the Public Finances of Ireland, read in the Economic Section of the British Association, of necessity trenched closely on the sphere of politics. Seventeen years ago, the Financial Relations Commission reported that Ireland must be considered a separate entity for purposes of taxation, that its contribution to the revenue of the United Kingdom should be proportional to its taxable capacity, and that since the amalgamation of the Exchequers in 1817, Ireland had paid more than it ought. Professor Oldham calculates that Ireland to-day pays one-sixteenth of the tax-revenue of the United Kingdom, while on the basis accepted by the Commission, its taxable capacity is below one-twenty-fifth. And in spite of this, Ireland at present, instead of contributing a surplus to Imperial expenditure—seventeen years ago this surplus amounted to two millions sterling—now shows a deficit estimated at a million and a quarter. "The explanation of the paradox is not far to seek; in the public finance of Ireland under the Union there is nothing to correlate revenue with expenditure. The Chancellor of the Exchequer plans a system of taxation scientifically adapted to the needs of Great Britain, the predominant partner. Fixed uniformity imposes this taxation on Ireland, where the economic circumstances are wholly different. The enormity of the results and the adequacy of the revenues thereby produced in Ireland are both by-products, obtained without intentional regard to either the economic or the financial requirements of that country. The quantum of these by-products will be the same whatever be the requirements of government in Ireland as regards expenditure. Therefore the whole basis of sound finance and economical government is absent, and paradox is the natural consequence."

As might be expected, the paper was followed by a keen discussion. Mr. Horner, K.C., M.P., argued that for Ireland to balance an Irish budget, even apart from any contribution for Imperial purposes, one of three things would be necessary: (1) heavier taxation; (2) great reductions in Irish expenditure; or (3) continued drains on the British taxpayer, which implied the maintenance of the Union. Professor Oldham, however, had not left these points unnoticed. In his paper, he had pointed out that new taxation, or at least a readjustment suitable to Ireland's economic position, was possible and desirable. Over half a million could be obtained by a tax of a shilling an acre on grazing land. The British taxpayer would certainly continue to contribute to Irish expenditure if the relations between the two countries remained as they were; during ninety years Ireland contributed far more than her share to Imperial expenditure. But the main dispute centred on the second of Mr. Horner's points. Was it possible, in view of the constant tendency everywhere for governments to assume new functions, and the consequent increase of expenditure, to sensibly reduce the total expenditure in Ireland? Would not new claims



more than swallow up any economies which could be made in existing expenditure—even allowing that that was inordinately extravagant? Professor Oldham held that while “an administration long habituated to extravagance has now assumed extended functions, . . . the new policy has not been accompanied by retrenchment of expenditure attributable to old forsaken policy.” But he believed that this could be set right.

### Young Offenders and Short Sentences.

Among official papers recently published few contain material of greater interest to students of social science than the annual report of the Commissioners of Prisons and the Directors of Convict Prisons. It will be remembered that much discussion was aroused a few months ago by the emphatic declaration, in the introduction to the Judicial Statistics for 1909, that criminality had become more prevalent among the community generally and that the increase of crime had been specially marked during the last ten years. The author of the introduction affirmed that this tendency was largely due to a relaxation of the public sentiment concerning crime, and that the increase in the number of indictable offences was not a mere passing phenomenon but the symptom of a real and increasing danger to the public welfare. The Prisons Commissioners dispute this. Their experience, they say, leads to a different conclusion and, generally speaking, they find indications which justify a much more hopeful outlook as to the tendency of crime in the future. “Figures, if they prove anything, would seem to show that the mass of crime is confined to recidivists and not to the spread of crime in the community generally—thus confirming the oft quoted opinion of Tarde that *la criminalité se localise en devant une carrière.*”

On the whole it seems probable that the portions of the report which will arouse most discussion are the paragraphs dealing with the admitted “futility and harmfulness of repeated short sentences in the case of young and trivial offenders.” There is, say the Commissioners, a growing opinion professed by the more earnest and thoughtful of those engaged in the work of reclamation that the remedy for the multiplication of trivial offences is “only to be found by boldly giving power to the Courts to pass longer sentences with a view to successful reformatory effort in the case of the young prisoner.” These remarks apply mainly to the appalling increase in the number of short sentences imposed upon young women and girls. It is not difficult, says the Woman Inspector of Prisons, “to find girls who have been sent to prison between 20 and 30 times before they are 20 years of age.” She points out that the prisoners take the lightest view of their offences and that a brief sojourn in prison is not unpleasant to them. Their offences, if trivial in detail, are symptoms of grave social ill. “Although it is beyond dispute that the Borstal system results in the restoration to society of many decent young citizens, only a small fraction of the girls who would benefit by it are brought under its rational and humane provisions.” And meanwhile, “year by year a stream of bright, childish girls pass in and out of the prisons, many of whom are in the power of older and worse people than themselves and can neither help themselves nor be helped.” The Prisons Commissioners conclude that, to begin with, the law should be strengthened in such a way as to admit of a special penalty being imposed where the offender is found to be “habitual”; but it is clear that any step of this kind would be practically useless in

present conditions, since it would merely mean the substitution of a long for a short sentence in institutions which cannot be described as curative or educative. Public opinion will certainly not be satisfied until the country is provided with a humane system on the Borstal or similar lines for dealing especially with all young offenders, but reform would mean a large initial cost and expenditure in this direction is, unfortunately, not favoured by the orthodox Treasury official.

### Prosperity in Canada.

The first fruits of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb's tour round the world appear in the September number of the *Crusade*, the organ of the National Committee for the Prevention of Destitution, in the form of an article on "Destitution in Canada," a title which would appear to have the special significance of the classic headline concerning snakes in Iceland, for the travellers have found no destitution to speak of in the Dominion. "It is in many ways refreshing," they say, "for two people who have spent years in studying the problem of destitution in Great Britain, to pass through another part of the British Empire and find destitution practically unknown to the whole eight millions of its population." Mr. and Mrs. Webb have journeyed thousands of miles, rested in magnificent cities, and passed over wide cultivated regions, but they cannot say that they have seen "even the smallest class of destitute persons," although, of course, individuals in temporary distress are to be found in Canada. Seeking for the cause of this prosperity, the writers say first and foremost stands the fact that the vast tracts of unoccupied and uncultivated land are still practically accessible to all healthy adult men even without capital beyond the resources of the ordinary Canadian labourer. In the past twenty years there has been coming on a silent economic revolution which has enormously improved the conditions under which the mass of the people live. Moreover, the same economic revolution has created a perfectly colossal and almost ubiquitous unearned increment, a share of which the ordinary industrious person is almost certain to get. "What is just now happening, in short, is the individual appropriation and reduction to effective use of the natural resources of a vast continent which was until lately not practically opened up."

This has been rendered possible by the great influx into Canada during the past decade of both capital and labour, encouraged by the spirited advertisement policy which both Governments and private concerns have carried out.

How long will this last? the travellers ask. The destitute class in England is made up, to the extent of 95 per cent., of the sick, the feeble-minded, the lunatic, the aged, the crippled, the widow and orphan. The chief reason why Canada has so few destitute persons is that nine-tenths of them have been left behind in Europe. It will be a sin and a shame if the cities of the Canadian Dominion presently reproduce the miserable conditions of the Old World. The disquieting feature, say the Webbs, is the complete lack of any thinking about the problem, in the face of incipient evils of the gravest kind—infant mortality, unorganized cities, the neglect of public-health provision. We quote the rather severe concluding paragraph of a very suggestive article:—

Our last impression of Canada is that of a hopeful, happy, virile and well-conducted people, grappling energetically and successfully with the conquering of a new country for wealth-production. But the

universal desire to get hold of "unearned increment" (that is, to acquire wealth without labour) produces a society which is continuously restless but always monotonous; which is singularly devoid either of depth of feeling or brilliancy of intellect; which has practically no consciousness of art or music or literature; which has very little appreciation of pure science, none of philosophy or metaphysics, and (apart from the Roman Catholicism of the French Canadians) only a meagre spiritual life. What shall we find in Japan?"

### Some Negro Social Studies.

By the aid of the John F. Slater Fund a series of Social Studies have been published by the Atlanta University, Ga., U.S.A., dealing with the position of the Negroes. No. 14, "Efforts for Social Betterment among Negro Americans," edited by Dr. Du Bois, contains an immense amount of information on the Churches, Clubs, Homes, Orphanages, Refuges, etc., maintained wholly or mainly by the efforts of the people of colour. The schools, of course, are maintained chiefly from public sources, but these are in many cases supplemented by private contributions. A long list of books written by negroes, and of existing journals (261) and magazines (9) edited by negroes, is given. The whole is a wonderful record for a race the majority of which less than fifty years ago were still slaves. No. 15, "The College-Bred Negro American," gives particulars—age, sex, early life, education and subsequent work, professional or public—of all those negroes who have studied at any college. Some intensely human documents are added, replies from former students as to the hindrances they overcame and their general philosophy of life. The chief hindrances are summarised as lack of money, race prejudice against the negro and prejudice of negroes themselves. One answers: "The same every coloured man meets. Menial positions; poor pay as a teacher; fidelity to my race, which led me to decline a high position on a railroad in Georgia which I could have had by passing for white." Another says, "A coloured lawyer to succeed at all must be far beyond the average white lawyer." A third remarks that "most of the Negroes believe that to succeed in our courts they must have a white advocate." A fourth has "felt perhaps more than anything else the prohibition from public library facilities in such a city as Atlanta." But another takes a more hopeful view: "There is in this community a kindly growing sentiment on the part of the whites toward the coloured people and so prejudice does not interrupt much. My chief hindrance is due to the fact that it is difficult to get my own people to appreciate in a large way our opportunities for growth and power."

### The Cities Exhibition.

After its successful showing in Edinburgh and Dublin, as recorded in previous numbers of this *Review*, the Cities and Town-planning Exhibition, originally hung by Professor Geddes and Mr. F. C. Mears in Crosby Hall, was removed in July to the Ulster Halls, Belfast, where it was opened under the auspices of the Lord Mayor and in conjunction with the Health Exhibition and the Royal Sanitary Congress. In August a small typical selection of town-plans, etc., was arranged at Trinity College, Dublin, in connection with the Congress of the Royal Institute of Public Health and by desire of the president, Lady Aberdeen. Besides the wide general

interest created by this prolonged stay of the exhibition in Ireland, certain definite and practical results are discernible. The organising committee of the exhibition, instead of dissolving at its close, developed into an Irish Housing and Town-planning Association, some leading representatives of which have undertaken the preparation of a Survey of Belfast for the tercentenary celebration of the city to be held in 1913. Of no less importance as regards the work of city investigation is the beginning of a Department of Town Study in the National Irish Museum as a direct offspring of the exhibition, which now returns to the larger island enriched in material and improved in method and presentment.

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### **American City Clubs.**

Mr. Raymond Unwin, whose appointment as first lecturer on Town Planning and Civic Design at the Birmingham University we are glad to notice, sends us a letter calling attention to the great value of an institution which has recently become common in the United States, namely, the City Club. This is a regular club giving all the ordinary club advantages, and it is open to anybody who professes himself interested in any branch of civic improvement. Meals are provided, and the Club lunch affords an opportunity for all who are working along any line for the improvement of the city in which the Club is situated to meet and discuss their various activities. "At Philadelphia (Mr. Unwin writes) the Club has 800 members; at Boston I think about 1500, and generally it is arranged that at least on one day in the week there shall be a half-hour address on some branch of civic improvement work; and, apart from this regular meeting, whenever anybody who can contribute anything to the general stock of information visits the town it seems to be easy to collect a good number of members at a lunch meeting to confer on the subject." Mr. Unwin suggests that it would be an excellent thing if a similar club could be run in London. The civic club idea in one form or another is certainly much to the fore nowadays—witness the vigorous propaganda on behalf of the Agenda Club and the recent announcement by the Duke of Devonshire in regard to the projected Social Service Club (with its Bureau of Service) to be inaugurated within the next few weeks.

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### **Professor Bergson in London.**

Many members of the Sociological Society will be glad to know that there is an opportunity this month in London of hearing M. Henri Bergson, Member of the Institute and Professor of Philosophy at the Collège de France. He will deliver a course of four public lectures on "The Nature of the Soul" at University College, Gower Street, on October 20th, 21st, 27th, and 28th, at five o'clock. The lectures will be in French, but a full syllabus in English will be printed for distribution in the lecture-room. The subjects are:—I. A study of the artificial difficulties that have gathered round the question—difficulties, namely, of two kinds: those which have been raised in the name of science, and those which have come from philosophers themselves. II. The special effort of introspection that has to be made in order to know the life of the soul in its essential character. III. A study of the psycho-physiological relation as it must be represented if the nature of the soul is that which immediate experience reveals to us. IV. Determination of the rôle and function of the soul. Admission is free without ticket.

**Unmarried Mothers.**

In accordance with some of the recommendations made in the Reports of the Poor-Law Commission, a day-servant hostel is now being established for unmarried mothers, which is intended to secure the welfare of the children. The institution will accommodate twenty girls, and be staffed by a superintendent, a kitchen matron, and a nurse under the management of a Committee of fifteen members, of whom Mrs. H. R. Gamble is acting as president, Mrs. H. J. Tennant as treasurer and Dr. Reginald Tribe as chairman. A boarding-house for ladies will be attached to the home, which will provide means of training for the girls; and the committee state that "the moral atmosphere of the hostel will be ordered freedom." The honorary secretary is Miss Kingsford, 5 Doneraile Street, Fulham, S.W.

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**The Morality Play Society.**

The Morality Play Society has considerable interest for sociologists, for it is a revival of one of the most picturesque phases of old-English life. Miss Lilian Braithwaite, Miss Henrietta Watson, Mr. William Haviland, and others will begin the society's career in December next by a production, in the great hall of the Imperial Institute, of "The Soul of the World: a Christmas Mystery Play," by Mrs. Percy Dearmer. The music, on this occasion, will be the work of Mr. Martin Shaw, who has incorporated old Hebrew melodies into the composition. Members will be able to claim the best seats in virtue of the payment of half-a-crown, which constitutes membership. The society is receiving the support of many well-known Church dignitaries, and promises to be an attractive and instructive addition to the educational agencies of the metropolis.

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**British West African Association.**

Mr. H. Osman Newland, a member of the Sociological Society's Council, is joint honorary secretary of the British West African Association, which is now housed at Revenue House, Poultry, E.C. Reading and writing rooms are at the disposal of members, with a collection of periodical and other literature relating to West Africa, and in an adjoining room a permanent exhibition of West African products has been arranged. Meetings of the Association are held on the first Thursday of every month, in the afternoon.

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We have received several communications from members taking up various points in the article in the July issue by Sister Nivedita on the work of the Sociological Society. These, however, we are not able to print in the present number, and further discussion of the questions raised is unavoidably postponed until the next number of the *Review*.



## REVIEWS.

## THE MEDIEVAL MIND.

"THE MEDIEVAL MIND: A History of the Development of Thought and Emotion in the Middle Ages." By Henry Osborn Taylor. 2 Vols., pp. xv and 613, viii and 589. Macmillan and Co. 21/-

SOMEBODY says that a historian's statements should be not only true but credible. It is impossible for the reviewer of Mr. Taylor's book to comply with this condition; for the truth about it is incredible. How is it credible that a man who has read, and evidently enjoyed, many thousands of pages of Latin should remain effectively ignorant of the very rudiments of Latin grammar? And again, how is it credible that a man who allows inverted commas to cover loose paraphrase, pale epitome or discontinuous selection, and who is apparently incapable of accuracy in any other matter, should nevertheless attain the rare excellence of precise and correct references and Latin quotations free from misprints? How is it credible that a book disfigured by flagrant want of scholarship and habitual carelessness should leave the reader whom it is constantly betraying with a prevailingly kindly feeling towards the author, and no little gratitude to him for introducing him to a variety of interesting people he would perhaps never have encountered elsewhere? And lastly, how is it credible that a writer who is generally content to throw his material out of his notes into his book regardless of repetitions, omissions and disproportions, should from time to time show himself capable of really luminous treatment of great periods and movements in history?

We will do what we can for Mr. Taylor by shewing him at his best first. If his worst, after adequate exposition, remains incredible let him have the benefit of the resultant scepticism. He is quite at his best in the first book, of which a free summary, or rather impression, may be here given.

Within the Roman Empire the general movements of thought were emphasised or qualified by the specific Christian tradition, but were neither dependent on it for their origin nor confined to it in the area of their influence. Doctrinally Greek thought dominates the theology alike of Plotinus and Augustine, and religiously an ascetic pessimism and a mystic optimism inspire both alike with a yearning for salvation. The credulity and lack of Lucretian belief in the "deeply inherent limits" of possibility in the material universe, which is discernible in both, degenerates into Pagan or Christian magic alike in Iamblicus on the one hand and in Gregory the Great on the other. So far there can be no separate history (at least no *Kulturgeschichte*) of Christianity and Paganism; there can only be a history of the spiritual movements which they both reflected within the area of Latin civilisation.

But ultimately Christianity became (not by accident) the dominating form of religion, and it was therefore through Christianity that the organic growth sheltered under the decaying Roman Empire came into reaction with surrounding barbarism, or the traditions of non-Roman civilisations. Hence Christianity became the carrier of ancient culture and we have constantly to remember how little "conversion to Christianity"

might mean in itself, but how much it might involve in the consequences it brought and the opportunities it offered. What Clovis meant by accepting Christianity was that "Christ gave victory; He was the mightier God. . . . Believing in supernatural aid, he desired it from the mightiest source, which, he was persuaded, was the Christian God. It was to be obtained by such homage to Christ as heretofore the King had paid to Wuotan. . . . Merovingian history leaves a unique impression of a line of rulers and dependents among whom mercy and truth and chastity were unknown. The elements of sixth-century Christianity which the Franks made their own were its rites, its magic, and its miracles, and its expectation of the aid of a God and His saints duly solicited." (I, 193—195.) But though the substitution of Christ for Wuotan, or the like, did not in itself rationalise men's views of cause and effect or humanise their motives and passions either in public or private life yet it brought them into direct, and in a measure sympathetic, touch with the traditions of ancient culture still preserved within the Empire. The missionaries and teachers practically realised this function, whether they did so theoretically or not. In the first five centuries the Christian writers had confined themselves almost exclusively to religious writing. The general basis of culture was adequately provided by others. But in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, because they dominated civilisation inside the strictly Latin area and represented it outside, they had to look to the foundations as well as the superstructure. Hence the cyclopedic works of Isidore and Bede, with their treasures of secular learning.

And again, Christianity offered to its converts the opportunity (though it by no means laid upon them the necessity) of feeling the moral and emotional influence of the Gospel which it still carried with it enshrined in the Scriptures; and since all study of nature and history had by this time become thoroughly derationalised, we constantly find a combination of high spiritual and low intellectual points of view which naturally (but not rationally) strikes us as incongruous. Thus in Gregory's dialogues, and far more in Bede's Ecclesiastical History, we find a frank acceptance of magical and miraculous sequences of events, and an application of tests of truth, which repel or at least detach our intellectual sympathy, combined with moving depths of piety, insight and tenderness, and even a shrewdness of moral observation, that win our love or admiration.

As we study Bede we find it more and more hopeless to maintain that he is recording the triumph of "truth" over "error" in any concrete or dogmatic sense, however vague, as he traces the progressive advance of Christianity; but it is borne in upon us that, within the limitation of fundamental thought common to Christian and Pagan alike, the Christian cause was the "better" in its implications and its opportunities.

When with the triumph of a nominal Christianity over Western Europe the common basis of culture is once established it becomes possible in spite of all diversities of race and character, and in spite of the limited and often superficial influence of professed beliefs, to speak of the "Medieval Mind," and to study its gradual evolution amid the varied conditions, reactions, and qualifications presented in Italy, France, Germany, or England.

It is to this process of evolution and civilisation that Mr. Taylor turns in his second book which covers the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.

But there is nothing in the second book to correspond to the luminous survey of the first. The subsequent books become still less organic; and

it is not till near the end of the whole work that we come upon another fine piece of analysis. Why does the Christian scholarship of the twelfth century appear so much broader and more generous than that of the thirteenth, although the thought of the thirteenth is so much fuller and more mature and its knowledge so much deeper? The fact strikes everyone who has even a superficial acquaintance with the periods; but how are we to explain it? Mr. Taylor answers that before the main body of Aristotle's work became accessible, a man with keen intellectual thirst could only slake it by wide and miscellaneous reading in the Latin classics. He had to go far afield to pick up his knowledge where he could find it incidentally, and in the process he necessarily acquired a large and human culture. But when Aristotle was translated into Latin the ardent searcher for truth and the deep thinker had the whole sum of ancient knowledge and the supreme means of intellectual training ready to hand in express and concentrated form. It was no longer necessary to go afield for information. But the Latin versions of Aristotle are not literature. Thus we get at once a deepening of thought, a broadening and systematising of knowledge, and a narrowing of literary culture and sympathy.

How excellent all this is! We could forgive much to the guide who gives us such panoramic views. But unhappily inaccuracy and defective scholarship run right through the book, and exceed the limits which the utmost stretch of charity can embrace. Mr. Taylor does not so much as know a nominative masculine from an accusative neuter, or a feminine singular from a neuter plural, or an indicative from a subjunctive. When John of Salisbury says "for the inflation of arrogance has this characteristic" (*habet enim hoc proprium arrogantiae tumor*) Mr. Taylor translates (II, 173) "For he has this special tumor of arrogance." And when Adam of St. Victor speaks of the central facts of the Christian drama casting their shadow before them (literally "running before, in shadow") in the sacraments of the Old Testament:—

*Quam decora fundamenta  
Per concinua sacramenta  
Umbra praecurrentia*

Mr. Taylor translates "How seemly the foundations through the appropriate sacraments, the forerunning shadow." (II, 91.) When he escapes this kind of "howler" Mr. Taylor may at any moment fall into blunders of construing, making nonsense of quite straightforward passages. Thus Gerbert laments that though outwardly successful in his intrigues, he is conscious of his inward failure (*ut ante oculos hominum felices, nostro iudicio habeamur infelices*), Mr. Taylor (I, 287) gives us "so that in the happy eyes of men we are held unhappy through our sentence"; and immediately afterwards he ruins the sense of Gerbert's touching appeal for his friend's prayers by translating "*peccatorum*" "of sinners" where it means "of (my own) sins." What are we to expect after this in cases where there is a real difficulty, even if it be one that a slight acquaintance with mediæval literary fashions should easily overcome? In speaking of the Redemption, Adam of St. Victor says:—

*Causam quaeris, modum rei:  
Causa prius omnes rei, etc.,*

which means "you ask the 'why' and the 'how.' The cause was the antecedent guiltiness of all mankind," but Mr. Taylor misunderstands the

second "rei" takes it as dependent on "causa," makes "prius" a preposition, and leaves us at a loss to conceive how he takes "omnes"! "Thou askest cause and *modus* of the fact: the *causa rei* was before all." (II, 90.)

Is there not something positively engaging in the spectacle of this offender against every law of Latin accidence discoursing with quiet confidence on the "evolution of Mediæval Latin Prose" (Chapter xxxi), and dispensing his meed of praise or blame to the classical or barbarous quality of this or that good man's Latinity?

These are specimens of emergent peaks; but only a little part (one tenth is it?) of an iceberg is seen above the surface. So the errors that strike the eye in this strange book do but indicate the mass of more dangerous because less obvious error and laxity which vitiates it in spite of the author's sound sympathies, and his praiseworthy avoidance of the hackneyed and repulsive aspects of his theme. One instance of these more subtle sources of confusion may be given in the failure to discriminate between the two distinct though cognate meanings of *species*, as a "mental representation" or "Erkenntnissbild," and as a "species" in the sense of the word that has passed into our own language. This failure obscures the exposition of Aquinas (Chapter xl), which in other respects is a careful piece of work.

PHILIP H. WICKSTEED.

#### ENGLISH RURAL ECONOMICS.

"Large and Small Holdings." By HERMANN LEVY, Ph.D., translated by RUTH KENTON. Cambridge University Press. 1911. 10/6 net.

ORIGINALLY published in Germany in 1904, this book has been brought up to date and supplemented with considerable additions by the author for this English edition. The translation has been excellently done, and the work, taken as a whole, is a very valuable contribution to the much neglected subject of English rural economics, in spite of some serious flaws.

The plan of the work is a history for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of the rise of the large farm and the subsequent competition between the large and small agricultural unit, followed by an analysis of the competitive advantages of the two systems at the present day. The history of the period covered, according to Dr. Levy, bears a very simple moral. According to him, "the history of the rise of the large-farm system is the history of the increased profitableness of corn growing." Both of these he dates from about 1760. At this epoch an extraordinary sequence of good seasons was succeeded by an equally extraordinary sequence of bad seasons. Wheat and other cereals went up in price, corn growing became profitable, and for corn growing the large farm had a great economic superiority, and consumers being obliged to spend more on bread had less to spare for meat, dairy produce and other foods in the production of which the small farm had the advantage. The great French wars intensified this combination of economic movements, and after peace was established the Corn laws artificially produced similar conditions. Throughout this period increase of arable farming with extinction of small farmers and the conversion of yeomen into tenant farmers was going on apace. Nor did it end at 1846. When Free Trade to some extent lessened wheat prices, and still more the wheat prices expected, the large farmers embarked on important capital improvements, drainage,

increased machinery, and combined cattle rearing with arable farming, and prospered till the disastrous year of 1879. Then at last the tide turned, and since 1880 the large farms have been reduced in number and small and medium farms have increased.

So far as the eighteenth century is concerned there is a good deal that needs correction in Dr. Levy's history. The great landlords' movement of the eighteenth century with its threefold aspect of enclosure both of commons and common fields, the engrossing of farms and the extinction of small peasant properties, did not begin in 1760, but certainly as early as 1680. Probably the signals for it were the fall of Clarendon, who maintained the Elizabethan tradition of defence of the peasant, and the passing of the Statute of Fraud, which authorised lords of manors to confiscate copyholds where the copyholder had lost the documents which would prove his title. It was probably, as Mr. Johnson\* has shown, in the fifty years from 1680 to 1830, that peasant properties were most rapidly diminished.

Secondly, there was no uniform association between extension of arable farming in the eighteenth century and the extirpation of small owners and occupiers. Dr. Levy appears to hold that the small farmer never did and never could supply the market with corn. And as he dates the rise of the small farm at 1760, one wonders how he supposes the towns of England were supplied with bread and beer during the preceding period. As a matter of fact, while over a great part of the country enclosure and consolidation of holdings was accompanied by a great increase of arable, *i.e.*, wherever commonable wastes were divided and enclosed, yet in other parts there was no such change, and in yet others the change was in the opposite directions. Throughout the great chalk district the proportion of arable and sheep down was not directly affected by enclosure; but whereas before enclosure, small intermixed farms combined wheat and barley growing with sheep rearing, after enclosure the same combination was carried on by the great farms described by Cobbett. In the Midlands small *arable* farms were converted into large grazing farms, the economic motive being supplied by the improvement in sheep and cattle. In this way the balance between pasture and arable, necessary in a country that fed itself, was maintained while the methods of cultivation were undergoing a revolution.†

After all however, the eighteenth-century history is not of vital importance to Dr. Levy's argument, the main point of which is that cheap bread, secured by free imports, is essential in the present century for the well-being of the English small holder. He shows that the proportion of arable increases with every increase in the size of farms, but that the number of cattle and pigs raised in a given area is much greater in small holdings than on large ones; though it is the reverse with sheep, the large farms carrying about four times as many sheep per 100 acres as the smallest. He contends that in dairying, poultry and pigs, fruit and all vegetables except potatoes, the higher quality and greater intensity of the small holder's labour compared with that of wage labour outweighs any advantages possessed by the large farmer; but in corn growing, machinery, the use of which is only practicable in large farms, is necessary for

\* "The Disappearance of the Small Landowner."

† For the evidence see "The English Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields," by Gilbert Slater.



economical production. To increase the home production of corn would therefore kill the rising hope of a revival of small holdings; to increase the price of bread would be to reduce the consumption of those comparative luxuries which are the proper field for the small producer.

The revival of the small holding is perhaps scarcely so marked as Dr. Levy would have us suppose. Taking small holdings as those from 5 to 50 acres, and classifying those from 50 to 300 acres as medium, another over 300 acres as large, we have, for the number of holdings of each class:—

	SMALL HOLDINGS.	MEDIUM.	LARGE.
1880	—	103,279	16,212
1885	170,431	104,073	16,148
1890	163,170	—	—
1895	170,591	106,955	15,578
1900	—	—	—
1905	166,622	109,498	14,792
1909	165,661	109,768	14,642

We have here two pretty clear movements, (1) a decrease in the number of large and (2) an increase in the number of medium sized holdings. But there is no steady increase of the holdings between five and fifty acres; and as for those from one to five acres, they diminished in number from 109,528 in 1890 to only 80,195 in 1909.

When, however, we bear in mind all the forces apart from industrial efficiency which militate against small holdings, the dislike towards them entertained by agents, the influence of sport, the difficulty of erecting new buildings if a large farm is divided, and the fact that as small holdings are most profitable when near towns they are apt to be destroyed by the very growth of those towns, we may concede that Dr. Levy fairly establishes his position that under the existing conditions the economic interests as well as the social well-being of England would be served by a great extension of small holdings.

There are, in Dr. Levy's opinion, two necessary conditions for the success of any national efforts in this direction: (1) the maintenance of Free Trade, and (2) the spread of agricultural co-operation. To these I should add, (3) improved rural education, and (4) improved organisation of transport.

While on the one hand Dr. Levy's book is incomplete, especially in consequence of his failure to deal with the whole educational side necessary to a policy of rural reconstruction, it yet merits very close attention for its fairly satisfactory demonstration that the policy of agricultural protection would be a deadly blow to the best hopes for rural workers.

GILBERT SLATER.

#### EDUCATION: ACTUAL AND POSSIBLE.

"What Is and What Might Be: a Study of Education in General and Elementary Education in Particular." By EDMOND G. A. HOLMES, late Chief Inspector of Elementary Schools. Constable, 1911. 4/6 net.

HERE is a volume which we trust may raise a wider and a deeper discussion than that over the official circular which has brought the author's name so much before the public. For as educational writers, in

this country above others, too rarely do, our author goes outside all educational institutions, methods, and details to look for educational essentials; and what is more, he comes back to tell us with conviction and force that he has found them. He has broken fully with the official traditions of "Education" as by law established: he looks back to them with horror, and with honest contrition for his own long share in maintaining them. He sees not only the faults and failures of our national system, but searches down to their deep-lying causes, far beyond those reached by the patchings and mendings of each year's code, well meant and often mitigant though these be. Time and again he explains, enforces and illustrates how the generation of "payment by results" has expressed the darkest depth in the piteous history of education, and shows how its evil results are not merely lingering but still flourishing and bearing fruit, spreading seed throughout the land: he goes below all this, below the utilitarian dogmas and superstitions from which this sinister and comprehensive system of child-sacrifice was compounded, down to their very foundations in "the Western standard of values, the Western way of looking at things." Here is the great point of the book: for its prime interest to the sociologist is not simply that this whilom high mandarin of the long-established national bureaucracy should now publicly burn what he adored and adore what he was wont to burn; but that he should come to see and show how this education-machine is part and parcel of the machine-culture, and this again an outcome of the general philosophy and law, the cosmogony and even theology of the Western world. To the reasoned expansion of this theme the first half of the volume is devoted, so that its criticism of the educational works and faith of My Lords, of "the Universities, Public Schools, Preparatory Schools, Civil Service Commissioners, Professional Society, and all the other 'Boards' and 'Bodies' that control the education of the youth of England" thus acquires a comprehensiveness and thoroughness which is only reached in any country before a period of revolution; and which indeed in principle is the revolution already. The information and examination system, the prize system, the worship of arithmetic, and so on, have all had their critics ere now, and latterly in increasing number; but never with such ruthless analysis, such complete confession, such pitiless exposure. No doubt many have discerned and are discerning every day the functional secret of the conventional state school: its true inwardness, its prime economic function, its of course sub-conscious activity in the production of artificial defectives, of dull machine-feeders and cheap clerks, of pettier officials and their docile taxpayers, and so on: but our author goes deeper still. "Whom shall we blame for the shortcomings of our elementary schools? The Board of Education? their Inspectors? the teachers? the training colleges? the local authorities? We will blame none of these; we will blame the spirit of Western civilisation, with its false philosophy of life, its false standard of reality.

The City of Destruction thus vividly described, the second half of the volume takes up the journey towards the Celestial City. Leaving what is "the Path of Mechanical Obedience," we set out for what might be "the Path of Self-realisation." First we are introduced to the actual school and its Egeria, to whom our author dutifully acknowledges his own conversion from bureaucrat to educator. The story of her gentle leavening of her local measure, and thence of his official lump is vigorously told. "Activity, versatility, imaginative sympathy, a wide and free outlook, self-forgetfulness, charm of manner, joy of heart—they are the

outcome in the school." That all these virtues must and can be also developed elsewhere is the cheering theme; and the difficulties and objections are stoutly met. Drudgery? "What children in other schools might regard as drudgery the Utopian takes in his stride." Usefulness? Again satisfactorily justified; and so on. This education of self-realisation leads to salvation of the whole life, in veritable contrast to that forlorn cynicism which is the dominant result of the conventional education of our day: and of which the outward educational conditions, and inward psychogenesis are here keenly analysed. The book ends upon a high ethical, philosophical, and religious note: one more definitely Buddhistic, indeed, than we may think essential to Mr. Holmes's main theme: but that difference need not prevent the warm welcome of a volume, vital alike to the practice and to the psychology of education—indeed seminal, fermentative, and thus revolutionary, in the best and most thorough-going sense of which that word is capable.

At once for its significance as the sincere and profound conversion of a very chief of educational sinners, and for its twofold message—its prophesying against the past, its epistle towards the future—this book cannot be too widely recommended. Despite our schools and colleges, with their preposterous "classical and modern sides"—the one multiplying pseudo-humanists ignorant of a universe in evolution, and the other semi-scientists ignorant of humanity and its social heritage—the renewal of education is in progress, and indeed had been long before Mr. Holmes was aroused to it. Despite the powers that be—or rather that were—the externalists and legalists, the mechanicals and the moneyers, and the submissive drudges of all these, despite their other logical products, in anarchists revoltant, or worse still, in cynics acceptant, this vital education is beginning: it is incipient in all quarters, not only, as this volume shows, from metropolitan Ministry to village dame-school, but even—sporadically of course—in the Universities, in the public schools, in short in all the dark places of the earth. There are not a few members of governing bodies, of Education Committees, and what not, who begin to think of education as more than material, as other than bureaucratic. There are even indications that such ideas may before long find their way into Westminster itself.

P. GEDDES.

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"Craftsmanship in Teaching." By W. C. BAGLEY. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1911. 5/- pp. ix + 247.

THESE lectures to teachers are both sane and stimulating. The author is a practical expert of varied experience, and shows balance, perspective, and insight. "What education stands in need of to-day is a stimulating and pervasive craft spirit." In expounding this text along various lines the author shows his chief strength to be the power to evaluate educational theories. He places his finger on the weak spots in methods old and new, and demonstrates the weaknesses by apt illustrations, in which are some excellent stories. His remarks on repetition-methods in "the new attitude towards drill" are illuminating. The description of a school organized on the doctrine of "spontaneity" reads like good humorous fiction. But it is fact, and there are many such schools in America. "The pupils were, to my prejudiced mind, in a condition approaching anarchy." The principal, asked if there were any nervous or anæmic children in the school, replied "Not one: our system eliminates them."

"But how about the teachers?" "To tell the truth," he whispered, "the system is mighty hard on the women." Again, "I saw one child start to work on a basket, work at it a few minutes, then take up something else, continue a little time, go back to the basket, and finally throw both down for a third object of self-realization." "How do you get the beautiful results that you exhibit?" I asked. "For these," he said, "we just keep the pupils working on one thing until it is finished." "But," I objected, "is that consistent with the doctrine of spontaneity?" Illuminating also is the story of "the ideal teacher," and that ending with the axiom—"The child is the most serious creature in the world." The author is good on the subjects of "half-baked psychology," and of utilitarian and cultural ideals, and best perhaps on the familiar problem of vocational education. The book may be unreservedly commended to young teachers. To sociologists not practically familiar with pedagogy it gives an almost personal realization of educational methods in being.

A. E. C.

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"The Child's Inheritance." By GREVILLE MACDONALD, M.D. Smith, Elder & Co., 1910. 12/6. pp. xi + 339.

THE sub-title of this book—"its scientific and imaginative meaning"—is worked up to by the author with some copiousness, both of language and of illustration. The latter consists in part of well chosen parallels from lower organisms, and mainly of quotations from the poets. The author's standpoint is that of reform, in the direction of getting "life fashioned after its simpler meaning," and thus making a truer and more "natural" use of man's ever-increasing inheritance. "The law fundamental" is "the principle of life"; instead of applying to life an inspired understanding, man "lets it stagnate, puts it to backsliding, compels it to trivial pursuits." Religion now "fails to reach the multitude because divorced from the appeal to imagination and poetic expression, scientific teaching fails also because it is divorced from its logical humility."

As to how one must undertake the problem the author is vague. His preaching is good rhetoric, but leads to no new method of educational or social improvement. No doubt, aspiration and the facing of the problem are alone intended, and the general reader will find the book an imaginative and eloquent appeal for inspired understanding in society.

A. E. C.

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#### HELIOGABALUS.

"The Amazing Emperor Heliogabalus." By J. STUART HAY, with an introduction by Professor BURY. Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 8/6 net.

IN the decline of the Roman Empire, as in other periods of transition, there may be noted two movements, separate and yet concurrent, the decay of the old system and the rise of the new. The old Roman religion ceases more and more to satisfy the aspirations of mankind, and the religions of the East come forward to claim its place. The contest is long doubtful. The old beliefs die slowly; nor is it at first obvious to whom the inheritance will fall. Gradually Christianity overcomes its rivals, and the first outlines of the new civilisation appear. This great change taking place in the full light of civilisation will always

have an absorbing interest for mankind, and so characteristic an incident as the attempt of the boy Emperor, at once heredity high priest of the Sun-god of Emesa and Master of the Roman world, to end the transition by making his religion supreme, certainly deserves more careful investigation than it has hitherto obtained. This Mr. Hay has provided for us in a work at once lively in style and yet full of research. Almost of necessity, it aims at giving a more favourable account of Elagabalus than that which has been usually received; such labour would not be undertaken without strong sympathy for his subject; but he never loses sight of the true position of his hero, of his connection with the dominating religious trend of his time. It is this that gives the Emperor his sole claim to remembrance.

Rome by its incorporation of conquered peoples, produced some strange results, and took its rulers from varied sources, but perhaps the strangest of all was reached when the family of the ancient priest-kings of Emesa supplied an heir to the murdered Caracalla. The changing fortunes of the family, the career of the Emperor, High Priest at 13, Emperor at 14, murdered at 18, his unbounded license and extravagance, his religious fervour, his inauguration in Rome of the monotheistic worship he hoped to make universal, all this is a tragedy of unending interest, a romance closely interwoven with one of the greatest transitions through which mankind has passed. Mr. Hay has no difficulty in showing how little reliance can be placed on the Emperor's biographers whose prejudices and contradictions are patent. He attempts to reconstruct the story with such light as may be obtained from a comparison of these tales, checked by the evidence of coins and inscriptions, together with our knowledge of the times and of human nature; and he shows us a boy, stained indeed by great vices, but open-hearted, generous, courageous, intent even in his youth on a great scheme of religious reconstruction.\* Of the Emperor's family, we have a very unpleasing picture. By tradition, he admitted a woman to the Senate. He was certainly much worried by those grasping politicians, his grandmother and his aunt. His cousin and successor, Alexander Severus, is to Mr. Hay a foil to the hero's virtue, such a contrast as one of the great masters of the human heart has drawn in Blifil and Tom Jones.

But while Mr. Hay is unsparing in the exposure of the prejudices of others, he is not without prejudices of his own. He may well be forgiven for loving old Rome with its "virility"—blessed word—but his distrust of Christianity makes him a doubtful guide in the interpretation of the religious revolution. His account of the material prosperity of the Roman world and the trifling pressure of taxation during the first three centuries of the Empire is very much at variance with the opinion of previous writers. His acceptance of the view that Christianity "was for all practical purposes confined in Rome to washerwomen or to people of their mental calibre" is surely against the weight of evidence, even though it has been upheld by those Christians who see a miracle in the conversion of the Pagan Empire. He exaggerates the rationality of the opposition to Christianity. Where science is almost stationary and confined to the simpler sciences, those furthest from man and his concerns, there can be no rational foundation of social and moral conduct,

\* Why does Mr. Hay, in his attempt to rehabilitate Elagabalus, in a reference to Tiberius ignore Professor Beesly's much more complete vindication of that Emperor?



save of the most empirical character. He talks of "the beauty and impressiveness" of the ritual of the Emperor's religion; but it was scarcely irrational to prefer Christian services to the "hecatombs" of victims of the Emperor's worship—a barbarous and disgusting display. Nor does the author recognise how difficult is "rational" religion in the absence of a belief in human progress. The old Roman faith had flourished in a very different environment from that of the Empire of the third century; but it was still confounded with the State. Christianity had grown up outside the Empire, and therefore was able to survive the ruin of Imperial Rome. Mr. Hay, true pagan as he is, glories in the subordination of Church to State. Elagabalus, in his eyes, only "foreshadowed what Tudor greatness effected." But the modern world moves towards "a free church in a free state" and the religious neutrality of the civil power. It was one of the evils of the Emperor's scheme that the Monotheism he sought to introduce would have been as much a creature of the State as the old Polytheism, and could not have survived the Empire's fall. Probably, the despised Alexander did as much as could be usefully done at that time in support of the movement of religious reconstruction, when he admitted Jesus to a place among the Gods.

S. H. SWINNY.

#### A CHAPTER OF IRISH HISTORY.

"Revolutionary Ireland and its Settlement." By the Rev. ROBERT H. MURRAY, Litt.D. Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1911. 10/- net.

THE field of Irish history—too long neglected or abandoned to the political pamphleteer—has in our own time been cultivated by a series of writers who need fear no comparison with those of other countries in painstaking research and in impartiality, though the latter virtue must always be especially difficult in a country where the controversies of the moment have their roots deep in the past. Dr. Murray has chosen for his subject the eventful period from the accession of James II to the death of Anne—a period which saw the last stand of Catholic Ireland, the establishment of the Protestant Ascendancy and the Penal Code, and the beginnings of that revolt of the Protestants against English domination which eventually led to the union of all Ireland under Grattan and the temporary freedom of the Irish Parliament. But the distinguishing characteristic of Dr. Murray's treatment is his recognition of the influence of the general European situation on the course of Irish affairs. For many ages the West has formed a community made up of various nations but with a common life. The prosperity and adversity, the power, the policy of each nation vitally affects all the others. It is therefore impossible really to understand national history without recognising and taking into account the general movement. Ireland was a pawn in the great game played between Louis XIV and William III as the representatives of Imperial domination and the commonwealth of nations; and William, who above all other statesmen of his time had risen to the international point of view, who was ready even to sacrifice the interests of his own country to the general welfare, never thought of the liberties of Ireland in comparison with the great design of holding Louis and his overwhelming tyranny in check. Hence it has come to pass that a statesman, second to none in honourable loyalty to his pledges and far in advance of most of his

contemporaries in his zeal for religious liberty, is connected in the public memory of Ireland with the violation of the Treaty of Limerick and the first enactments of the Penal Code.

If Dr. Murray anywhere shows a bias, it is in his account of the Irish Parliament summoned by James.\* He insists that James had no right to call a Parliament because he was no longer King of England, and the Irish crown was annexed to that of England; but by strict constitutional law, the Convention that made William and Mary King and Queen was itself unconstitutional. The proceedings on both sides were necessarily revolutionary. Dr. Murray admits that this Irish Parliament did some good things, such as the enactment of religious equality between Catholics and Protestants, but he is shocked at the Act of Attainder and the Repeal of the Act of Settlement, though the second must have seemed to those concerned only the redressing of grave wrongs less than a generation old. He is on firmer ground when he insists that the quarrels of the time were national and political rather than religious. The Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor rejoiced in the Irish victories of William and some Catholics were denounced in James's Acts. The violation of the Treaty of Limerick was a means of plunder and the Penal Laws aimed more at subjugation than conversion. Two aspects of the Penal Laws are well brought out. The one is that the English Council was more intolerant than the Irish Protestant Parliament, the other that the code followed in numerous particulars the persecuting decrees of the French Government against the Huguenots.

An interesting account is given of William King, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, who in his own person and career exemplifies the transition of the Irish Protestants from bigotry to toleration, from Colonists to Irish Patriots. His "State of the Protestants in Ireland," written when he was still smarting from his imprisonment under James, does not lead us to expect the firm stand he made against the violation of the Treaty of Limerick. Though he never reached the position held in regard to religious toleration by the despised Parliament of James, though he held to the end that the Catholics must be kept in subjection, yet he used his influence in the Lords to reject an odious Bill for making the penal laws still more severe. Far in advance of his age as an economist and recognising the fallacies of the Mercantile system, he never wearied in protesting against the measures taken to ruin the Irish woollen trade. Above all, he claimed the independence of the Irish Parliament. "I had rather suffer anything than betray my country."

Here it would perhaps be best to take leave of the author with gratitude for the diligent research by which he has made plain many difficulties in an important chapter of the history of his country, were it not for one curious excursion into the sociological field. After rejecting with great good sense the theory that the differences between Ulster and the rest of Ireland are due to differences of race, he proceeds to formulate a "law" that in every country there is an opposition between North and South. He thinks it possible that Buckle might have given "an elaborate physical explanation" of this law. The "elaborate" explanation is of course that it is hotter at the equator than at the poles, or in other words to such other differences as occur between East and West, or between North and South, there must be added a difference of climate which in general occurs only

\* Very unfairly, he sets out to compare the state of Ireland in 1685 and 1688, and quotes Keating as to its state in May, 1689, i.e., during the Civil War.

in the latter case. In countries like Italy, Scotland, Portugal, much longer from North to South than from East to West, there is obviously a great probability that any line of cleavage will separate North and South. But these *physical* considerations are always liable to be overridden by *social*. We know that colonists retain with only slight modifications the civilisation they have brought from the mother country, even in a very different climate. Therefore, as a matter of fact, the line of cleavage does not in every country run in accordance with Dr. Murray's law. One of his examples is somewhat unfortunate. He says that England was so divided in 1640 and again at recent elections. But in 1640, or rather 1642, the line of division did not run so. A line from Southampton to the Wash, *i.e.*, S.W. to N.E., had on one side, the S.E., a part almost solid for the Parliament; on the N.W. lay the King's strongholds, but with some Parliamentary districts. Dr. Murray's line from Liverpool to Hull has both the Parliamentary and most of the Royalist strongholds on the same side of it. Yorkshire was one of the counties most evenly divided. France affords an even stronger case. The differences between N. and S. are patent, and yet it has been noted that the main Republican strength both in the First Revolution and under Macmahon's reaction lay on the East of a line drawn from N. to S. The slight difference of climate in European countries is always liable to be counteracted by sociological factors.

S. H. SWINNY.

#### A PRIMER OF MENDELISM.

"Mendelism." By A. C. PUNNETT. Macmillan & Co. Third edition, 1911. 5/- net.

MR. PUNNETT is one of the most readable and reliable of the writers on the important new field of inquiry into heredity, Mendelism. The present volume is an enlarged re-written edition of a booklet which, published in 1905, has been often reprinted and has obtained a wide circulation in this country, on the Continent, and in America. It is a pleasant, and perhaps the best, introduction to the subject of which it treats, its chief and only serious defect being a rather pronounced bias in favour of a view still only partially accepted by the majority of students of heredity. For this reason one would like to have seen included a chapter on the value of the experimental method as compared with the statistical, and also with the natural or family history mode of inquiry adopted in medicine and elsewhere. And a further chapter considering somewhat fully the objections to Mendelism would have added greatly both to the interest and the comprehensiveness of the book.

The theory of Mendelism rests upon the conception of unit characters or factors whose influences can be experimentally isolated and studied and found to breed true. While the facts upon which Mendelism rests may be broadly accepted, the interpretation of them is a matter of considerable difference of opinion, and certain difficulties in this interpretation might have been treated by Mr. Punnett, or at least recognised as existing. The claim is made that heredity acts specifically and not by a blending of characters, and three sets of data are surely needed to establish this fact (*a*) In Mendel's case of tall and dwarf peas one would like measurements showing the degree of variability in all tall and dwarf hybrids as compared with variations in corresponding tall and dwarf pure varieties; (*b*) Mendelians usually work with variations that

are widely divergent. For instance, the dwarf pea was about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet and the tall about 6; what would happen if a pea 3 feet in height had been chosen to breed with one  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ? It may be that divergence of character if pushed far enough ceases to blend, but does blend when characters are less widely separated. Until these two difficulties are cleared up Mendelism as a distinct theory has no real existence, though the facts which it has discovered would still be of great value; (c) Blended inheritance seemingly does occur whether Mendelism is true or false, and is particularly well seen in the often quoted example of skin colour shading discernible in various crosses of white and black races of men. It may be, of course, that there is an adequate Mendelian explanation for such phenomena; but if so it has to be discovered, and these and similar difficulties tell rather strongly against any present belief in unit characters.

There are other difficulties: as, for example, the widely different manifestations that may arise where only one hereditary difference is the cause. If the pituitary gland be, as seems probable, the one cause of the varying forms of giantism, how, on the conception of unit characters as the basis of heredity, can we explain such different structures as the end of the nose, tongue, jaws, feet, hands and limbs all being associated together, and all increasing in size with the activity of this one gland tissue. It would seem that this Mendelian view of heredity is too simple to explain all the facts or even a fair proportion of them under the head of variation. Sometimes one finds Mendelians adopting language that other biologists find so ambiguous as to be almost unintelligible. Thus Professor Punnett says: "In their simplest expression the phenomena exhibited by Mendelian characters are sharp and clean cut. Clean cut and sharp are the phenomena of sex." What does such a passage mean? If there is one fact that is certain, surely it is that sexual characteristics are entirely lacking in this clean-cut and sharp character. If one takes primary characteristics, it is, of course, common knowledge that all degrees of sex approximation exist down to a nearly complete hermaphrodite stage, while secondary and tertiary characters are even more variable. The distribution of hair on the adult man's and woman's faces is a case in point. From the bearded woman of the public showman's exhibit to the dark down on many brunette's lips and to the extreme and womanly hairless type there are demonstrably an enormous number of almost insensible gradations, and from the smooth-faced man to the heavily bearded a corresponding series could easily be arranged. What therefore does 'clean-cut' mean in this connection? These are surely points upon which Mendelians might give fuller information.

Occasionally Professor Punnett uses words carelessly which other students of heredity are also apt to misinterpret and which are likely to prejudice more refined people against the subject. Thus he speaks of the young of mammals being parasitic upon the mother; a misuse of the word parasitic, since what is meant is physiologically dependent, and mother is a word which should only be used for human relationship. Similar errors occur elsewhere—as, for example, when he speaks of cells marrying. These are points which it seems necessary to refer to, but, making all allowances, the book can be strongly recommended. There can be no serious doubt that Mendelism has contributed much that is very important to our knowledge of heredity, and it is to be hoped that students of all schools of thought will tend to co-operate more and more largely together to encourage a mutual study of each others results.

J. LIONEL TAYLER.

"The Feeble-minded." By E. B. SHERLOCK, M.D., B.Sc. Lond., D.P.H. Macmillan & Co. 1911. 8/6 net.

THIS book of Dr. Sherlock's on a problem which at the present time is exciting both sociological and eugenic interest is in some ways an original and illuminating contribution to a difficult subject. It is carefully planned, and the method of study is the customary medical one of direct observation and collection of individual cases, its author only differing from other writers in this, that he gives much more detailed attention to the objective psychological aspect of feeble-mindedness. The book is unusually comprehensive in its outlook and breadth, and yet is so condensed that it is not long and is interestingly written from the first page to the last. Any reader who carefully mastered its contents would have a good all-round knowledge of the question, save for the one important exception of heredity, which is treated in a meagre fashion. It may also perhaps be urged that Dr. Sherlock becomes at times a little too speculative. The first four chapters are largely psychological; the fifth, sixth, and last treat of eugenic and social issues, and of these the fifth, dealing with the causation of feeble-mindedness, is probably the weakest of all.

What is particularly wanted at the present day, and what Dr. Sherlock does not supply us with, is a very careful study of the genealogies of the feeble-minded themselves. Would it not be possible to trace the history of imbeciles and weak-minded in 100 or more cases for three or four generations, in order to discover to what extent and in what manner feeble-mindedness is transmitted? Is feeble-mindedness spontaneous in its origin? And if so, is it, when so arising, hereditarily transmissible or not? These are questions so vital and germane to the whole sociological and eugenic points of view that one could wish they had been more fully and more carefully considered. For it is clear that, if feeble-mindedness and other forms of mental defect may arise spontaneously in families otherwise capable and energetic, and especially if the feeble-minded when so born fail to perpetuate their stock, the eugenic remedy for mental defect would be of little value. But if, on the contrary, mentally defective types are born from defective parents and transmit their defects to their offspring, then eugenic methods of segregation would be of great importance. Dr. Sherlock, in common with many other writers, also overlooks the sociological aspect required for an adequate understanding of the problem: that is, the effect on society of institutional rather than home treatment of those suffering from various degrees of mental failure. This is not even cursorily alluded to. Obviously, as Maudsley and earlier writers have pointed out, the altruistic feelings and their healthy stimulation form the basis of all sound social life. To remove all personal parental responsibility from the individual parent by state housing of the feeble-minded might conceivably turn out to be a grave sociological blunder, even if from a eugenic point of view the segregation of the unfit seems wholly to be desired; and it might be discovered that a middle course of home supervision of defectives by trained inspectors would best meet the demands of society. I do not attempt to decide which of these points of view is the correct one, but I suggest that it is a pity so cautious and painstaking a student as Dr. Sherlock should have given them so little prominence. Perhaps he may remedy this oversight in a later edition. Apart from these criticisms one can cordially recommend the book.

J. LIONEL TAYLER.



"The Position of Women, Actual and Ideal." By several Authors. With a preface by Sir O. LODGE. Nisbet, 1911. 170 pp. 3/6 net.

THIS book is quite readable, and may perhaps help to bring home the importance of the subjects discussed to some who would be afraid of more serious study, but as a whole, it must be owned, its tone is of the drawing-room, and somewhat unreal and ineffective. The papers appear to have been read among a small circle of friends, and one might conjecture that the ensuing discussions were often more interesting than the papers. It is doubtful whether the authors were wise to thrust the offspring of those pleasant evenings into the cold publicity of print. The economic question is treated very slightly throughout, and no attempt has been made to deal with the position of industrial women, an omission which of itself might surely have suggested a less pretentious and comprehensive title. Miss Melville's paper, "The Education of Women," is in our opinion the best, and Miss Sheavyn's on "Professional Women," expressing a somewhat different view, is a good second. The more eminent contributors appear to less advantage. Professor and Mrs. Thomson's paper, for instance, though it contains much that is interesting and avoids extreme views on either side, is very discursive, and wanders from the birth-rate to higher education, from mixed schools to medical training, without saying anything very definite about any of them. Dr. Clouston is afraid that higher education may be too much for growing girls, and does not stop to ask how much the generation before higher education suffered from ennui, want of exercise, ignorance of hygiene and physiology in parents and teachers, overstrain and morbid emotionalism in religious training. That there may be much to amend in modern education, one need not doubt; but there is ample evidence in the works of Charlotte Brontë, Elizabeth Sewell, Mrs. Ewing (to mention a few only), that the inefficiency of the old-fashioned methods was not compensated by healthy habits and freedom from "nerves," as the idealisers of the past would have us think.

Again, Dr. Clouston deprecates the discussion, and apparently the knowledge, by women, of subjects which, he says, would have shocked "modest women" forty years ago (why precisely forty?). Surely experience teaches that we cannot build up a strong and pure society merely by fencing off a certain number of gently bred women from the knowledge of painful facts, for the sake of maintaining their individual delicacy and refinement. A woman sanitary inspector called on a poor family and asked to see the sanitary accommodation. The mother replied doubtfully: "It's not fit for a lady like you to look at, ma'am." The inspector answered: "If it is fit for you to use, it is fit for me to look at." This is a true story, but it is also a parable, and may be commended as an alternative to Dr. Clouston's view.

The papers are summarised in a short conclusion by Professor R. Lodge, who does not even spare us the usual hackneyed quotation from Tennyson's "Princess."

I note a few inaccuracies. On p. 7 Professor Thomson mentions the age-group 15 to 20 as the one period at which the tenacity of life is greater, and the death-rate lower, among males than females. From 5 to 15 is, I think, the age he means; in some years it is from 3 to 4 or 15. On p. 120 Miss Melville says that four million "spinsters and widows" are workers. The 1911 census results are not yet to hand, and the 1901

census included rather less than four million women workers, single, married, and widowed; moreover, the married and widowed workers were not separated, so it is hard to see how Miss Melville got her figure at all. On p. 90, footnote, the word "precious" reads very oddly, and perhaps is a misprint for "free" or "freer."

B. L. H.

"The Living Wage of Women Workers": a Supplement to the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science." By LOUISE M. BOSWORTH. Edited with an Introduction by F. SPENCER BALDWIN, Ph.D. Philadelphia, 1911.

A GREAT contrast is this careful and able research to the work just considered. Instead of vague and unsupported generalities, we have here a piece of detailed investigation into the expenditure of working women in Boston, made with the object of forming an estimate of the "living wage," or the "minimum amount necessary to decent and comfortable existence to the woman worker." The present study covers 450 cases, which are classified both according to occupation and to earnings. In the wage classification, it is found that in the case of food, rent and clothing the amounts spent increase with increased wages, while the percentages of income decrease. The amount expended for health (medical attendance, etc.) increases up to the highest wage group, where it declines; the percentage thus spent falling steadily all the way. Both the amount and percentage of savings fall slightly from the lowest wage group to that next above, after which both increase considerably. The movement of expenditure by working women, it is here pointed out, does not conform to the law enunciated by Dr. Ernest Engel as arising from his study of family budgets in Prussia, except in regard to food. His law was that the percentage spent on clothing, rent, fuel and light are about the same whatever the income. Other interesting comparisons with family budgets are given on p. 18.

Dr. Spencer Baldwin arrives at the conclusion that the minimum living wage of women may be estimated at \$9 to \$11 per week (37/6 to 45/10). This class represents the mean of those included in the investigation, and roughly the average of all women workers covered by it. In this class the average income and the average expenditure approximately balance, whereas in the classes standing lower in the scale there is a deficit and in those standing higher, a surplus. The lower earners do not make an income sufficient to meet their expenditure. It is obvious that this analysis "gives furiously to think" in many directions. It is impossible to touch on the many interesting points raised, and we hope statistical and sociological students will read the work carefully for themselves. The authors have indicated points where error may arise owing to the comparative fewness of cases observed.

B. L. H.

"La Science de la Civilisation, ou de la réalité." (2nd edition, Paris, 1911) and  
 "La Théorie de l'Homme et de la Civilisation." (Paris, 1911), by ERASME DE MAJEWSKI.

M. ERASME DE MAJEWSKI, of Warsaw, is a strenuous worker in various fields of science, particularly biology and anthropology; and in these two books he follows on the lines of Herbert Spencer, in the endeavour to

enunciate a theory of evolution embracing all existence. His conclusions may be summarised in the following table:—

- (1) The atom, or the reality A.
- (2) The cell, or the reality B.
- (3) The organism, or the reality C.
- (4) The civilisation, or the reality D.

The novelty and interest of M. de Majewski's speculations rests in his conception of "the reality D"—or, as we may put it, the unit of super-organic life. To all sociologists, presumably, the analogies between the life of an animal or plant organism and that of society are full of a sort of enticing and baffling interest. *What* is the social unit corresponding to the separate animal? Is it the tribe, village or city; the nation or race; or the *tout ensemble* of humanity? M. de Majewski holds that it is none of these. He finds that the social bond which unites men, which distinguishes man from non-human animals, is language; that it is by language men collected together undergo a differentiation in function, analogous to the differentiation in function of the cells in an organism, which is the mark of an organic whole. Therefore the social unit is not a city, race, or state, but a civilisation, *i.e.*, an ensemble of ideas founded on a common language. In each civilisation—Greek, French, Japanese, for example—there is *life*; these civilisations are the great wholes, in contrast with the little wholes, individual men or animals. It is impossible not to suspect that the author is drawn along the road to this conclusion by the attraction of its application to his own people. Poland, it follows, is a living unit, to be conceived as having a life as far transcending man's as a man's life transcends that of each corpuscle in his blood. This living being is independent of place; its unity is unaffected by the division of the land and the people between Russia, Prussia, and Austria. It is independent of race. Those are part of this unity who speak Polish and think Polish, whether Poles by blood, wherever they live or under whatever government. It is as it were by accident that the fire of the sentiment of Polish unity finds expression in these abstruse treatises. Here is one quotation, taken from the chapter discussing the possibilities of a universal language:—

"Neither propaganda nor violence continued for more than a century in the Polish provinces under the German yoke have succeeded in stifling the Polish language and replacing it with German. Nevertheless the extirpation of Polish has been systematically and obstinately pursued by the Prussian authorities by all manner of devices and with all their power in a manner absolutely unparalleled. The work begins in the elementary schools where moral and physical tortures are inflicted on the children for uttering a single Polish word, it extends to the tyrannical invasion of even the most private life by an all-powerful administration. The Polish language has been and is proscribed with unexampled brutality, perseverance, and tenacity; and what is the result? This language endures and develops, it is an unshakeable rock on which all the attacks of its enemies break in vain."

G. S.

"Marriage, Totemism, and Religion: an answer to critics." By the Right Hon. LORD AVEBURY. Longmans, Green and Co. 4/6 net.

LORD AVEBURY'S work, "The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man," originally published in 1870, having now been

re-issued in a cheap edition, the distinguished author publishes this vindication of his original opinions as his justification for declining to make any substantial alteration in his thesis, in spite of the great volume of new research that has been brought before the public during the forty years which have since elapsed. Lord Avebury, after a review of the contending views of his contemporaries, is in the happy position of being able to declare "if some of the suggestions I threw out and the opinions expressed in my early works have been criticised by great authorities, I am able to show that they are supported by others; and what is of course of even more importance, they are in accordance with the facts." But is this altogether satisfactory for the student? A little book like this is rather too long for a mere statement that the author is prepared to re-affirm his previously published theories; it is inadequate as an examination of the conflicting theories of other writers and the grounds on which they are based. Thus, for example, in two short chapters on the origin and evolution of marriage Lord Avebury can only spare a paragraph or two for dealing with the novel point of view presented by Mr. Crawley in "The Mystic Rose," with the result that he appears to fail altogether to appreciate the importance of Mr. Crawley's contention that primitive marriage customs are profoundly influenced by primitive beliefs in magic. Similarly, in dealing with Dr. Frazer's treatment of the origin of exogamy, he so completely misses the point of the suggestion that incest might have been regarded as having some *magical* evil effect upon women generally and upon edible animals and plants, as to maintain that Dr. Frazer's repudiation of the idea that the exogamous savage had worked out a *biological* theory on the injurious effect of inbreeding disposes of his argument. In fact, the work of these two most suggestive authors appears to have made very little impression on Lord Avebury's mind.

Since Lord Avebury wrote his pioneer work, anthropology has made vast strides, especially in the collection of material. But its progress has not been in the direction of simplification. Lord Avebury's clear-cut theories on the evolution of marriage, on totems, and on the lack of religious conceptions among the less advanced races (*e.g.*, American Indians) cannot now be easily accepted in all their attractive simplicity, even if we are unable to substitute any rival theories with confidence.

G. S.

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"La France Economique et Sociale, à la veille de la Révolution. Tome II. Les Villes." By MAXIME KOVALEWSKY. Paris: Bibliothèque Sociologique Internationale.

This volume, together with the companion volume on the country districts published two years ago, forms a masterly work of world-wide interest. Taken together they display the social and economic changes working in the half-century before the Revolution, and of which the Revolution itself was a sudden crisis. The author sketches the working of the system of government and municipal inspection and control of urban industries which Colbert built up on the basis of the Gild system, the beginning of great machine industry, the struggle between the *laissez-faire* principles of the Physiocrats and those of Colbertism, and Necker's compromise, and finally the working of the reciprocity treaty of 1786 with England. That treaty let loose a flood of cheap English manufactures, the product of the revolutionised English industries, upon a country which did not even enjoy

internal free trade, against manufacturers who were heavily handicapped by inferior access to raw material and inferior machinery, and shackled by all manner of government interference. It is to be hoped that the whole work will shortly be translated into English.

G. S.

"Contemporary Social Problems": a course of lectures delivered at the University of Padua, by **ACHILLE LORIA**, translated by **JOHN LESLIE GARNER**. Swan, Sonnenschein. 1911.

THE social problems dealt with are the fundamental ones of Freedom, Property, Population, Socialism, Evolution, Revolution. The lectures were delivered to large popular audiences, and subsequently published in Italian in the hope that they would be a stimulus to serious and scientific thinking "in a country," to use Professor Loria's words, "which has a horror of a problem and dearly loves an axiom." The general attitude of mind in which Professor Loria approaches the problems dealt with is socialistic. He holds that the present is one of those "critical times when the destruction of the prevailing economic form is imminent"; and he calls upon the propertied and governing classes themselves to anticipate the coming transition by taking up the struggle against the injustice involved in capitalism.

G. S.

"The Meaning of Social Science." By **ALBION W. SMALL**, University of Chicago Press. 6/- net.

DR. SMALL, Professor of Sociology in the University of Chicago, gathered together a number of graduates who had taken their degrees in Political Economy, History, or other of the Social Sciences, and discoursed to them on the nature of Sociology, and its function of comprehending and unifying all the discrete Social Sciences. The lectures are here printed just as they were delivered, in all the diffuseness which was proper to them as lectures, with the result that to the reader there seems to be an unduly large proportion of froth to liquor. Perhaps the most interesting idea in the book is the suggestion that studies of definite historical periods of particular countries should be undertaken by organised teams containing specialist students of Law, Economics, etc., in the hope that a combination of all the specialisms will give the nearest possible approach to a true, comprehensive sociological survey.

G. S.

"An Introduction to the Study of Social History and Antiquities." By **JOHN E. MORRIS** and **HUMFREY JORDAN**. With 64 illustrations. Routledge and Sons. 4/6 net.

THIS publication is a result of the circular of 1908 of the Board of Education on the teaching of history in schools. It is a compact, very condensed volume treating of the sort of remains to be found in various parts of England and Wales illustrating the broad developments of English History. The work has been done very completely, and the result is a book which will be most useful to teachers. The illustrations are photographs of Roman roads, British camps, castles, etc., well chosen and well taken.

G. S.



"India: Its Administration and Progress." By Sir JOHN STRACHEY, G.C.S.I. Fourth edition, revised by Sir THOMAS W. HOLDERNES, K.C.S.I. Macmillan, 1911.

This revised edition of the late Sir John Strachey's exceedingly useful survey of Indian administration comes at a particularly opportune moment, for within the next few months the attention of the British public will necessarily be centred upon Indian matters in an unusual degree. All students of Indian affairs have been in the habit of consulting Strachey for a good many years past, and the book is still by far the best summary of the machinery of government and of the salient facts of Indian economics, education, and general policy. Sir Thomas Holderness has brought it up to date by revising the statistics and adding lengthy notes to several of the chapters. These are in the main adequate, although we have marked a few references to recent controversies which, in a book of this kind, might have been fuller in substance and couched in more careful terms.

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"Great Cities of America: Their Problems and their Government." By D. F. WILCOX, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1910. 5/- net.

Dr. WILCOX's little book belongs to the very useful Citizen's Library, edited by Dr. R. T. Ely, and it is a revision of a volume contributed by him some time ago to a German series of monographs on city government in the West. Limits of space compel Dr. Wilcox to confine himself to six cities only—Washington, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and Boston. These naturally are the aggregations in which the present-day problems of urban life in America are most acutely presented, and they are also widely different in origin, type, and development. A careful chapter is devoted to the study of each city, and at the close a few pages (too few, the English reader may think) are given to the discussion of the general problem of the future of great cities.

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"Child Problems." By GEORGE B. MANGOLD, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Dr. MANGOLD's contribution to the series known as the Citizen's Library is a survey of the more important problems affecting the child in the modern state. It deals in order with infant and child mortality, recent aspects of educational reform, child labour, the juvenile delinquent, and the dependent and neglected child. The book, which has a short bibliography, is written without sentiment or rhetoric and is an excellent specimen of current American work in this field.

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"Shans at Home." By MRS LESLIE MILNE. John Murray, 1910. 15/- net.

MRS. MILNE has not attempted a full and scientific account of the Shans. She has tried merely to picture their everyday life, as far as possible from their own point of view, and her book is the result of some two

years spent in a district not far from the frontier of Yunnan in the Northern Shan States, which were annexed by Britain after the fall of Mandalay in the last Burma war. Mrs. Milne takes the reader through the successive stages of what is beyond question a fascinating social system—describing the child life, the teaching at the monastery, courtship and marriage customs, the making of the home, the village community and so forth. Marriage among the Shans is not especially early, and the girls are given reasonable freedom of choice. The women are said to show much independence, often leaving their husbands without any serious quarrel. Monogamy is the rule. Girl babies are by no means despised. It is believed that children are given as rewards for merit, that is for good deeds done by the parents in previous existences. On this point, the reader will observe, the Shan theory contrasts pleasantly with that attributed to the mythical inhabitants of Erewhon, who were wont to say of parents with large families that they had suffered terrible injuries from the unborn. In regard to the history and literature of the Shans, Mrs. Milne has had the assistance of the Rev. W. W. Cochrane, who contributes a chapter on each of those subjects. The language of the Shans is a tonal speech, purely monosyllabic, rich in all its dialects and abounding in synonyms. Mrs. Milne has embellished her book with an excellent selection of photographs.

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"Cat's Cradles from Many Lands." By KATHLEEN HADDON. Longmans, Green & Co. 1911. 2/6 net.

THE game known in England as cat's cradle is played all over the world, and apparently by people at every stage of civilisation. Miss Haddon has brought together fifty different figures, from Africa and the Torres Straits, Australia, India, the Arctic Circle, and elsewhere. They reveal an immense variety of design, from the simple interlacing with which the English child is familiar to representations of natural forms, sometimes wonderfully intricate, such as a cocoa-nut palm or a two-masted canoe, a dog on a leash or parrot cage. In each case Miss Haddon has described the making of the figure and provided an illustration. Their ethnological value has not yet been worked out, but obviously it is not only the ethnologist for whom the book will have a fascination. At first sight, says Miss Haddon, the figures may not appear to be particularly alluring, but in practice she has found very few people able to withstand their charm.

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"Insects and Disease." By RENNIE W. DOANE. Constable & Co. 1910. 8/- net.

THIS volume belongs to the American Nature series, and in it the assistant professor of entomology in the Leland Stanford Junior University has given a popular account of the way in which insects may cause or spread certain common diseases. The various chapters deal with parasitism and disease, bacteria and protozoa, house-flies or typhoid-flies, fleas and plague, etc. The mosquito is, of course, dealt with at length. Mr. Doane describes its structure and habits, its many species, and its connection especially with malaria and yellow fever. It is worth noting that out of 220 pages some 45 are devoted to the bibliography, an essential feature to which hitherto the writers of popular scientific summaries in America have given much more attention than have their fellows on this side.

"Youth's Noble Path." By F. J. GOULD. Longmans, 1911, 2/-.

MR. GOULD's task, in preparing for the Moral Education League a volume of moral instruction based mainly upon eastern tradition, poetry, and history, has been to produce a series of lessons which, while containing the essentials of ethics, should be free from everything likely to give offence to the adherents of any eastern faith. He has succeeded in a noteworthy degree. His talent for applying fable and legend in teaching is well-known, and for his present purpose he has laid under contribution, and used with much skill, a very large number of the classics of the East. The books should certainly meet with a cordial welcome in India.

## PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

## FRENCH.

LA SCIENCE SOCIALE for July is the record of L'Ecole des Roches for 1910-11, with illustrations. It shows that there are 162 boys in the school, of whom 50 can speak at least one foreign language, and 101 have spent at least a month in some neighbouring country. For sociologists, naturally, the social science course is the most important part of the curriculum. It occupies two years. During the first the pupils learn the gymnastic and the logic of observing and recording social facts, while in the second they prove the methods thus learned in practice. The presence of a boy in the school from the Champagne district, and of another from Nantes, has determined the choice of these two regions as the field of survey for the past season. The observations made on the former by one of the most sociologically minded of the pupils are printed in the record; and they form a very respectable piece of work indeed. The school-charity fund, which averages 1,100 francs a year, offers scope for similar inquiries, for it is administered by the boys themselves. The elder ones, under the direction of the masters, visit the families who receive the assistance, and two or three times a term they have a sort of Charity-Organisation conference at which the cases are discussed and the funds apportioned: and now and again the proceedings are varied by lectures from outsiders on various charitable institutions and movements.

The August-September issue is a study of the mountaineers of Pistoja. Himself a Tuscan, the author, M. Pippo Rusconi, puts both knowledge and sympathy into his treatise, which presents the Pistoians to us as a peaceful and pleasant-tempered, if somewhat sheepish people. Content with the subsistence which their chestnut woods provide, without requiring any labour from them but that of the harvest, the men pick up a meagre livelihood abroad, generally in Sardinia, during the winter, leaving the women in charge of their homes. The latter are therefore much respected, and as a rule they are more intelligent and capable than the men. Farming, nail- and pin-making, charcoal-burning and the letting of summer lodgings, all on a minute scale, are the only industries of the district: and the inhabitants are honest and courteous, though most of them are illiterate.

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The continuations of the progress discussions in the REVUE INTERNATIONALE DE SOCIOLOGIE for May, June and July respectively are, *La théorie de l'évolution chez Herbert Spencer*, by M. René Maunier; *L'évolution et la femme*, by Mme. Lydie Martial; and *Comment reconnaître la progrès*, by M. Arthur Bauer. M. Maunier points out that Herbert Spencer's determinist-optimist evolutionism involves a confusion between "evolution," which is a judgment of fact, and "progress," which is a judgment of value; but he gives generous praise to the determinist part of the system, whereby Spencer, as a pioneer, extended the empire of causality from the physical to the social sciences. The effect of Mme. Martial's paper is weakened by far-fetched biological analogies, and vague and grandiose language. Thus she has much to say about the "ovular economy of society," and the "ovular basis of civilisation" and the "vibratory" citizens who build social structures on it. Her conception of progress for women is, that they should more and more take a conscious and a willed part in the evolutionary movement of society. Interpreted by M. René Worms her contention is, that periods of organization, economy and evolution

alternate with periods of criticism, expenditure of force and progress; and that in the former women, while in the latter men, are in the ascendant. M. Bauer's article has a breadth of outlook and a ratiocinative strength which remind one of M. René Worms. He defines progress as the increase of good, and good as the harmonization of all the special goods representing what each member of society wishes to realize for himself as an individual. Hence the achievement of progress necessitates both self-control and self-realization, a wise use of the moral capital of the race represented by tradition, receptivity for the teaching of men and women of originality and initiative who improve on that tradition; and above all deep and extensive sociological knowledge. The further contents of the May number are, *Le droit public et le droit individuel*, by M. de la Grasserie; of the June number, *La circulation des élites*, by Dr. L.-V. Furlan, and *Les statistiques de mortalité professionnelle*, by M. Michel Huber; and of the July number, *Sociologie ou philosophie sociale*, by M. W.-M. Kozłowski, and *Les économistes protectionnistes*, by M. René Maunier.

LA REVUE DE MÉTAPHYSIQUE ET DE MORALE for July is a special number, giving a full account of the Fourth International Philosophy Conference, held at Bologna in April last. Over 350 members were present. Among these England, America, and even Germany were under-represented; but the French delegates did full justice to the gatherings, and played a notably brilliant part in the proceedings. It was largely due to their prompting that the Committee gave any overt recognition at all to sociology. But, possibly because they are looking for it, sociologists will find evidence of their science on every page of the reports. For example, M. Enriques, in discussing "The Problem of Reality," reconciles religion with science by means of the sociological conception that the bare objective data of the latter are always treated as values by investigators, and are therefore coloured and shaped, as religious facts are, by human wants and aspirations. M. Barzellotti, again, in a lecture on *La mentalité philosophique contemporaine*, shows how philosophers have shifted their ground since "the contemporary historic consciousness" has dawned upon them. Now they no longer talk grandly about the intelligibility of the universe, "and the absolute and definite value of demonstrated truth." The rather, more humbly, they treat of "the relativity of the human mind in the historic and limited conditions of civilization and science": and this, of course, is a sociological doctrine. The only paper in the title of which the word "sociology" appears, is a brilliant study, by M. E. Dupréel, *Sur les rapports de la logique et de la sociologie*. It is really an epistemological treatise. Clear ideas, those, that is to say, of the  $2+2=4$  order, he assigns to logic, confused ideas to sociology. By the latter he means ideas which are never quite the same for any two individuals, and which therefore go through a dramatic history of adaptation to various minds in different situations. As to the diffusion and elaboration of these ideas he gives a great deal of both information and delightful imagination in a very small compass, and the article is well worth careful reading.

M. Dupréel contributes a summary of the Bologna Conference to the BULLETIN OF THE SOLVAY INSTITUTE for May. He demonstrates how erstwhile philosophy consisted in constructing a "system" or founding a school, and was the affair of the solitary student—Descartes in his tranquil retreat in Holland, Leibnitz at Wolfenbüttel, Renouvier at La Verdettes: whereas now it is recognised that knowledge is a social product which can be expanded and maintained only by solidarity with one's fellows. The difficulty is, how the field of knowledge should be apportioned between philosophy and sociology. Has the mind a logic that remains the same at all times and in all places; or is human reason a shifting element, as the pragmatist affirms,



which differs in kind in, say, the European and the Australian, or for the same person in sickness and in health, at work and at play? He accepts the former alternative, and, in Kantian wise, makes the content of the mind a datum that can serve as an instrument of explanation in sociology, not a mere product of social circumstances that changes continually as they change. The *Bulletin*, as usual, is comprehensive and well-arranged, and at once interesting and business-like.

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The pamphlets issued by LE MUSÉE SOCIAL for June, July and August respectively, concern "The Organization of Workmen's Leisure in Germany," "The Division and Management of Property in Maine and Anjou," and "Agricultural Credit and Co-operation in France." To the first subject two brochures, by M. Henri Verne, are assigned. In the former he deals with the public-library movement only. This, in Germany, owes its origin mainly to the Comenius Association, and it has attained enormous proportions in its brief lifetime of barely ten years. The other recreative associations of Germany appear to be markedly inferior to similar institutions in England.

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#### GERMAN.

The chief sociological paper in the ARCHIV FÜR RASSEN- U. GESELLSCHAFTS-BIOLOGIE for May and June is a study, by Dr. Albert Reibmayr, of the "Landflight" in Germany that has diminished the country population by from one to two millions within the last decade, while the town population has increased by from six to eight millions. His argument is that the three years' military service system and improved means of communication between town and country have rendered the rural folk susceptible to the diseases of civilisation, while it has annulled the beneficent selection-by-death which weeded out the weak amongst them in unmedical times, and has destroyed their value as a source of renewal of the city populations. He holds, however, to the Archdall Reid theory that the more a people suffer from any disease in the present, the less they have of it in the future; and supports it by invoking Dr. Wolf-Eisner, Professor Römer, and a 16th-century oracle, Petronius the physician. Particularly virulent now, the maladies that are enfeebling the country people to-day will wear themselves out in a few generations: so they must be left to the *vis medicatrix naturæ*. Doctoring can do but little for them; and he is not quite sure whether hygiene counts for much or not. He closes with a note of woe for England: for has she not allowed the *Landflucht* process to go so far in her case that she has no peasantry to speak of for the *vis medicatrix* to work on; and is she not dependent for her food supply on curmudgeonly neighbours?

*Das Problem der Gleichheit der Rassen* is a paper written by Dr. J. Kollmann in reference to the Universal Races Congress. He discovers irreconcilable differences, particularly in brain capacity, between the "superior" and "inferior" races, but does not regard them as barriers to mutual understanding and confidence.

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ANNALEN FÜR SOZIALE POLITIK UND GESETZGEBUNG is a new periodical that has just been issued, in Berlin, under the editorship of Dr. Heinrich Braun, who mentions the following facts, relating to Germany, as the *raison d'être* of his undertaking: that within the last 25 years the population has increased by 36.48%; that whereas in 1882 the country-dwellers numbered 425, in 1907 they represented only 286 per thousand of the people; that in 1910 no less than 21.12% of the population was contained in 47 large towns: and that mere traders are on the

increase, while of the producers barely 17-57 are anything better than "hands." It is Dr. Braun's object to set forth the results of these changes, and of the similar ones that have taken place in other countries, apart from the interests they involve, and from the viewpoint of world economy. Besides articles, each number will contain detailed examinations of labour laws either passed or proposed in Germany and elsewhere, and a *Rundschau* that gives a general and universal survey of the industrial field. In the first issue, however, these notes relate exclusively to Germany, and they are so long that they practically form articles. The article section proper is devoted to the increment tax, the capacity for trade organization among wage-earners, the sliding scale of payment in England, and the fitness of townsfolk for military service. The *Annalen* are altogether useful and informative, though there is nothing distinctive about them; and the first number is not particularly business-like, for it is undated, and it contains no announcement as to the intervals of publication.

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#### ITALIAN.

RIVISTA ITALIANA DI SOCIOLOGIA. Anno XV. Fasc. III—IV. (May—August, 1911).

E. Morselli: "Le razze umane e il sentimento di superiorità etnica." This paper is suggested by the Questionnaire of the Universal Races Congress held in London in July. The author admits that Anthropology is to-day in a state of decadence which he qualifies as "premature" and that its autonomy is threatened. He hopes that the Congress may remedy this (but the event has hardly justified him). He urges four objections to the Questionnaire: (1) "race" remains undefined; (2) the Questionnaire is too complex, confusing biology, psychology, sociology, and ethic; (3) it mixes philanthropy with science; and (4) it cuts across racial differences when it sets out to consider the relations between East and West. Professor Morselli considers "race" equivalent to "variety" in biology. Civilisation is generally inseparable from social contacts, and is not, therefore, racial. He, then, proceeds to answer the questions propounded by the promoters of the Congress.

F. Tönnies: "Mezzi e fini della Sociologia." This is the presidential address delivered at the first congress of the German Sociological Society (Frankfort-on-the-Main, October 20, 1910).

A. Bruno: "Dell' azione individuale nel determinismo sociale." Sociology is a moderating influence; knowledge and reflection incline the individual to moderation rather than to strenuous social action.

R. Michels: "Considerazione sui limiti etici all'amore sessuale."

A. Bonucci: "L' Atteggiamento contemporaneo del pensiero filosofico." A note on the fourth international Congress of Philosophy which met at Bologna last April.

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RIVISTA INTERNAZIONALE DI SCIENZE SOCIALI E DISCIPLINE AUSILIARIE. (June 30, July 31, August 31, 1911).

The number for June 30 (Vol. LVI, Fasc. CCXXII) contains an article by Giulio Castelli on the legal position of foreigners in Morocco, continued from the preceding number. Felice de Dominicis traces the rise of the idea of nationality in Germany and its transformation into Pan-Germanism, and Guido Bonalis writes on the commerce of a city of the Adriatic in the middle age—an interesting study in medieval civilisation and economics. Both these articles are continued in the number for July 31 (Vol. LVI, Fasc. CCXXIII), which also contains a paper by G. Toniolo on the reconciliation of Science and the Catholic Church, and this is continued in the

number for August 31 (Vol. LVI, Fasc. CCXXIV). In the latter number Carlo Grilli, in a paper entitled "Dinamismo economico e fiscale," reviews the work of John Bates Clark on the application of economic principles to modern industrial problems, and that of Edwin R. A. Seligman on the incidence of taxation. The article "L'antireligiosità del pensiero vichiano, secondo Benedetto Croce," by Domenico Lanna, is a vindication of the catholic orthodoxy of Vico, suspect as a forerunner of positive sociology.

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LA RIFORMA SOCIALE. This review, published at Turin, deals chiefly with practical social and economic problems. The number for July—August—September, 1911, contains an economic survey of Molise, a commune of Southern Italy, by U. Vacca-Maggiolini, and papers on Trade Unions (G. Prato), on the international movement of capital and products (A. Graziani), and on tables of mortality in view of the proposed monopoly of life assurance (G. Rocca). The first article, signed "La Riforma Sociale," discusses whether a senatorship is a function or merely a decoration. It is suggested that more industrial chiefs should be appointed, and it is noted that, from Lord Lansdowne's proposals, there is a tendency in England to follow the Italian model in reforming the second chamber.

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#### ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY for July fully maintains the reputation of this review for excellence at once in the psychological and the strictly sociological field of thought. Professor Ellwood corrects Marx's Economic Determinism by a sound psychological demonstration, showing that "the social life cannot be interpreted in terms of any one of its phases or in terms of a single set of causes, but can only be properly interpreted by a synthetic view which shall take into account all the factors actually found in the social life process." *Social Reform and Political Psychology*, by Victor S. Yarros, is characterized by a quiet and reasonable optimism that should commend it to readers of all shades of opinion. Its argument is that the self-interest of political fighters is due not necessarily to dishonesty and selfishness, but to the limitations of intellect which narrow the outlook even of the greatest philosophic synthetists. Everyone has a microscopic knowledge of his own corner of the world, and cannot realize that his vision of the rest of it is only telescopic. He genuinely believes, therefore, that his own interests are of national and even cosmic importance. So they are, as a rule, Mr. Yarros believes, when they become the objects of loud political conflict; and as the settlement of these contentions does not lie with the parties at issue, but with a critical public, it is generally just and fair. In *Moral Instruction and Social Intelligence*, Professor Lull, by reference to the civic ideals of the Hebrews and Athenians, emphasizes the need of social enthusiasm in the training of youth. Since it is so difficult to trace the scope of one's actions in the complex communities of to-day, he proposes to furnish the young with the stimulus and the knowledge which are both necessary for right conduct, by making social science and the study of present-day heroes part of the school programme. In an important article on *The Classification of Social Phenomena*, Professor Hayes, of Illinois University, after criticizing the systems of Tarde, Spencer, de Greef, Fairbanks, Ross, and Giddings, lays down the rule that social activities, which are to be distinguished from the biological, geographical, and other material factors that condition them, constitute the subject-matter to be classified. This and several other principles which he enunciates the Professor will illustrate in a classification of his own in the next issue. Section VI of Professor Louis

Wallis's *Biblical Sociology*, and article IV of the illustrated studies of the Misses Breckinridge and Abbott on *Chicago Housing Conditions*, complete a number which possesses both scholarly and popular interest.

In a paper in the current number of *THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS* which he describes as "mercilessly dry," Professor Robert Brooks gives what is really a very readable account of the German Increment Tax, "which in its extreme complexity is a true product of the German intellect." It nevertheless demands attention from economists and politicians, for "it is one of the largest and most significant applications of the single-tax idea that has ever been attempted." The movement has grown with remarkable rapidity in Germany, for it began only in 1898, and by April, 1910, no fewer than 457 municipalities within the Empire were levying an unearned increment tax. A translation of the imperial Act of February 14th appears in an appendix. Professor Benjamin Hibbard, in *Tenancy in the North Central States*, demonstrates how the American farmers are retaining ownership of the land only in virtue of superior efficiency. The high-priced lands which are of speculative value, and which yield good returns under the older, extensive cultivation, are gradually passing into the occupation of tenants working for landlords who have large capital at their disposal, and are therefore formidable competitors for the smaller holders. Mr. Roscoe Hess writes on *The Paper Industry in its Relation to Conservation and the Tariff*. He looks forward to a possible all-American paper monopoly as the result of the proposed breaking down of the tariff wall between Canada and the States. He thinks that although such an arrangement might bring about some shrinkage in the capital invested in woodland in the States, it would effect an economy in the American timber supply that is very desirable, for if the present consumption of the most marketable wood continues in the East and North for twenty years, those areas will be completely denuded of their forests. Under these circumstances American investors are putting money into Canadian timber-growing concerns, and are therefore smoothing the way for an understanding with regard to the tariff. The rest of the article space in this number is taken up with *Street-Railway Rates*, by G. P. Watkins, of the New York Public-Service Commission, and *The Check-off System and the Closed Shop among the United Mine Workers*, by F. A. King.

In *The Garden of Ethics*, which forms the leading article of *THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ETHICS* for July, Professor Lloyd Morgan draws a pleasant picture of Huxley looking out over his carefully tended garden at Eastbourne, with the waste land in the distance, and translating his thoughts about it into sociological terms. Under the empire of nature "elimination implies the absence of any truly selective choice. It begins at the bottom of the scale of variants and works progressively upwards." Under the empire of man elimination "begins at the top of the scale of variants. There is real choice; a deliberate and purposeful picking out of those variants which most closely accord with an ideal framed in the mind of the selector." Professor Morgan proceeds to show how the various systems of morality are the resultants of the social struggle between the ideals of all the workers in "the garden of ethics." *Energism in the Orient* is a paper by Dr. Paul Reinsch in which he corrects the exaggerated notions of Eastern quietism of which Europeans have become possessed, and speaks with appreciation of Sister Nivedita's "Aggressive Hinduism." He tells us that the peoples of the East are now "being inspired with ideals of positive achievement and progress," but that they will never go so far in the direction of energism as the mechanicians of the West. Their contribution to international civilization will be a certain "spirituality" which will redeem science from sordidness. "When they see the West striving to introduce mechanical ideas into the most sublime realms of thought, standardizing everything upon the basis of computed units of efficiency, they feel that the Orient still has a

message that will be heard." *The Written Law and the Unwritten Double Standard*, by Ada Eliot Sheffield, is an article on "the social evil," the justice and common sense of which are so obvious, that it ought to have a very large number of readers. The writer points out that the laws against prostitution aggravate this horrible traffic, and further give rise to police corruption and other forms of lawlessness, because the enforcement of them is impossible; and that such is the case because the men who are parties to it are considered respectable, as they are certainly moneyed, citizens. Only greater self-assertion on the part of women can modify these men's opinion of themselves, and society's. The submissive woman actually leads men to suppose that some women have polyandrous instincts, while the rest have no very great objection to the practices to which these give rise. The revelation of their utter abhorrence of anything so "hideously unæsthetic" would alter the incidence of public opinion upon the offenders, and call forth sympathies in men strong enough to overcome the baser passions, and make an "unfair deal" with women impossible. The other articles in this number are, *Milton's Ethics*, by Alfred Benn, *The Influence of the Darwinian Theory on Ethics*, by Ramsden Balmforth, and *The Ethics of the Bhagavad Gita and Kant*, by Professor Radakrishnan.

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The EUGENICS REVIEW (July) is an especially good number, the articles showing a commendable tendency towards fuller and more systematic treatment. Sir Thomas Oliver, discussing "Lead poisoning and the race," proves, with the aid of some distressing statistics, the peculiar evil of lead as a race poison. Dr. Tredgold, in a paper on "Eugenics and future human progress," re-states the thesis so frequently argued by the Eugenics Education Society that "the weapons forged by Nature to bring about the betterment of the race have, one by one, been taken out of her hands," and, as a consequence, the unfit are encouraged. Captain Arthur St. John writes on "Crime and Eugenics in America," and Dr. R. J. Ewart on the conditions necessary for the bringing about of an aristocracy of infancy.

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Also received: "Bulletin of the Bureau of Economic and Social Intelligence," "The Open Court," "Man," "The Highway," "Progress" (July), "The Positivist Review" (August-September), "Scottish Geographical Magazine" (July, August, September), "La Lectura Revistade Ciencias y Artes" (June, July, August), "Revistre Bimestre Cubana" (May, June), "Zentralblatt für Anthropologie" (Heft 1-4), "Vierteljahrschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie und Soziologie."



## BOOKS RECEIVED.

- Ovington, Mary White. "Half a Man." London: Longmans. 1911. 4/- net.
- Spiller, Gustav (edited by). "Inter-racial Problems." London: P. S. King. 1911. 7/6 net.
- Evans, Maurice S. "Black and White in South East Africa." London: Longmans. 1911. 6/- net.
- Constable, F. C. "Poverty and Hereditary Genius." London: Fifield. 1905. Cheap edition. 1/- net.
- "Working Women and Divorce." An account of evidence given on behalf of the Women's Co-operative Guild before the Royal Commission on Divorce. London: David Nutt. 1911. 6d.
- Hutchins, B. L., and Harrison, A. "A History of Factory Legislation." London: P. S. King. 1911. Second edition revised. 6/- net.
- Webb, Sidney and Beatrice. "The Prevention of Destitution." London: Longmans. 1911. 6/- net.
- Mills, Elliott E. "Scientific Endowments versus Increased Taxation." Bath: National Unity Press. 1911. 1/- net.
- Clay, Sir Arthur. "Syndicalism and Labour." London: Murray. 1911. 6/- net.
- Cunningham, Archdeacon W. "The Case against Free Trade." London: Murray. 1911. 2/6 net.
- Ferrero, Gina Lombroso. (With Introduction by C. Lombroso.) "Criminal Man according to the Classification of Cesare Lombroso." Illustrated. London: Putnam's Sons. 1911. 6/- net.
- Avebury, Lord. "Marriage, Totemism, and Religion: An Answer to Critics." London: Longmans. 1911. 4/6 net.
- Endle, Rev. Sidney. "The Kacháris." London: Macmillan. 1911. 8/6 net.
- Roscoe, Rev. John. "The Baganda." London: Macmillan. 1911. 15/- net.
- Spencer, F. H. "Municipal Origins." London: Constable. 1911. 10/6 net.
- Horne, H. H. "Idealism in Education." London: Macmillan. 1910. 5/6 net.
- Minimus, Numa. "Vox Clamantis." London: Macmillan. 1911. 3/6 net.
- Lindsay, A. D. "The Philosophy of Bergson." London: Dent. 1911. 5/- net.
- Crozier, John Beattie. "Sociology applied to Practical Politics." London: Longmans. 1911. 9/- net.
- Small, Albion W. "General Sociology." University of Chicago Press. 1905. 16/- net.
- Petavel, J. W. "The Coming Triumph of Christian Civilisation." London: G. Allen. 1911. 1/- net.

- Wells, L. S. A. "The Choice of the Jews: a Tragedy and a Lesson." London: Methuen. 1911. 2/6 net.
- Cumont, Franz. "The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism." Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co. 1911. \$2.00 net.
- Hyndman, H. M. "The Records of an Adventurous Life." London: Macmillan. 1911. 15/- net.
- "Transactions of the Town Planning Conference: London, October, 1910." Royal Institute of British Architects. 1911.
- Koskowski, B. "La Question Agraire au Royaume de Pologne." Paris: Giard et Brière. 1911.

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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Taking advantage of the presence in London for the Universal Races Congress of Dr. W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS, the Programme Committee arranged a special evening meeting for July 18, when Dr. Du Bois read the paper on "The Economics of Negro Emancipation," which appears in this number. There was an unusually large gathering, presided over by Sir Sydney Olivier, Governor of Jamaica. At the close of his paper Dr. Du Bois answered a great number of questions, and the discussion was opened by Mr. J. A. Hobson.

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## FORTHCOMING MEETINGS.

The following meetings have been arranged for the first part of the session. They will be held as usual, in the Hall of the Royal Society of Arts, Adelphi, the afternoon meetings being preceded by tea at 4-45.

- October 17, 8-15. Mr. Gerald Stanley Lee (Author of "Inspired Millionaires"): "The Bearing of Social Imagination upon Wealth."
- October 31, 5-15. Dr. Gilbert Slater: "The Universities and the Democracy."
- November 14, 8-15. Principal A. E. Garvie: "Contemporary Social Developments in Canada."
- November 28, 5-15. Mr. G. P. Gooch: "Histories and Historians of Civilisation."
- December 12, 8-15. Miss Mabel Atkinson: "Domestic Life and the Consumption of Wealth (the Sociological Method of Le Play)."

